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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN  
THE UNITED STATES—PART 3

(Foreign Propaganda—Entry and Dissemination in San Francisco, Calif., Area)

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HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

---

DECEMBER 10 AND 11, 1956

---

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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

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(Testimony of Grace Partridge, Louis Goldblatt, Clair Jensen, Aubrey Grossman, William Heikkila, Cleophas Brown, and Victor Arnautoff heard on December 11, 1956, in San Francisco, will be printed under the title of Communist Political Subversion.)



PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress (1946), chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, \* \* \**

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121, STANDING COMMITTEES

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American Activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make, from time to time, investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

## RULES ADOPTED BY THE 84TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 5, 1955

\* \* \* \* \*

### RULE X

#### STANDING COMMITTEE

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress :

\* \* \* \* \*

- (g) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

\* \* \* \* \*

### RULE XI

#### POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

- (a) Un-American Activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make, from time to time, investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

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# INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES—PART 3

## (Foreign Propaganda—Entry and Dissemination in San Francisco, Calif., Area)

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MONDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1956

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*San Francisco, Calif.*

### PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met at 10 a. m., pursuant to recess, in room 338, Federal Building, San Francisco, Calif., Hon. Clyde Doyle (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Clyde Doyle, of California, Harold H. Velde, of Illinois, and Gordon H. Scherer, of Ohio.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, director; William A. Wheeler, Donald T. Appell, and W. Jackson Jones, investigators; and Richard S. Weil, staff member.

(Committee members present at time of convening: Representatives Clyde Doyle, Harold H. Velde, and Gordon H. Scherer.)

Mr. DOYLE. The committee will please come to order.

I would suggest, as long as there is unoccupied space just inside the rail in the first row, that if the witnesses would be permitted to sit there, then as far as the seats are available, then the people standing in the courtroom could have seats.

Would that be permissible, Mr. Marshal?

Then will the witnesses who wish to do so come inside the rail and sit in the first row. That will be a little closer to the witness chair and also permit the people in the rear of the room to have seating accommodations.

Thank you for your cooperation.

I have a brief opening statement I wish to read.

This morning a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States Congress is beginning 2 days' hearings in San Francisco.

Let the record show that, pursuant to authorization and appointment by Francis E. Walter, chairman of the full Committee on Un-American Activities, this subcommittee consists of Representative Harold H. Velde of Illinois, on my right, Representative Gordon H. Scherer of Ohio, on my left, and myself, Clyde Doyle of Los Angeles County, as subcommittee chairman.



Our hearings in San Francisco today and tomorrow will embrace two principal subjects, both of which the Committee on Un-American Activities has been examining in other cities of our great Nation. This, therefore, is a continuing series of the hearings.

The first of these concerns the devious influx of Communist political propaganda which is flooding many areas of the United States from sources behind the Iron Curtain.

The committee has already received much sworn testimony in Washington and Philadelphia about the staggering volume of this propaganda, which is distributed in ways that circumvent the foreign agents registration laws of our Nation requiring the labeling of foreign propaganda and the identification of the people who distribute and disseminate it.

The second subject before us will be the current campaign of Communist political subversion, that is, the concerted effort of the Communist Party in the United States and its confederates to strip our Nation of its security laws designed to protect our own Nation against subversive activities.

We have been conducting hearings on this, as you know, in Chicago, Washington, Youngstown, and, during the last few days, in Los Angeles.

Taken all together, the testimony which this committee has received thus far presents a very shocking picture of how a dedicated core of militant Communists, by subversive propaganda and infiltration, are attempting to enlist the American people in a common cause, to rob the American people of their legal defenses against ultimate domination by the conspirators who owe loyalty to the Kremlin.

This activity of the Communist Party in the United States, now being conducted through a multitude of "front" organizations, is directed against the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act, the Communist Control Act and, with particular vehemence, against the provisions of our Immigration and Nationality Act which make possible the deportation of alien Communists who have obtained residence in the United States.

I wish to make it clear that we are not contesting the right of people to organize for or against any particular law.

This is a fundamental right under our Constitution. And this committee is not only sworn to uphold it but is proud and glad to do so.

But subversion against our internal security laws is not legitimate political activity.

The operation of subversive, illegal conspiracy that seeks to open the way for conquest by a foreign power cannot be considered a part of the democratic procedures by which our beloved Nation lives.

Congress is entitled to know who the real parties in interest are who are petitioning the United States Congress. Only such disclosure enables Congress to legislate intelligently and with justice to the American people.

At this time I would like to make it crystal clear that the Committee on Un-American Activities was first created as a regular standing committee by the United States Congress during the 79th session of Congress in 1946, and has been reestablished by every Congress since then.

The full committee consists of nine members, and Public Law 601 expressly authorizes the creation of subcommittees like this one.

The committee established its own rules of procedure, and each witness or legal counsel appearing before the committee receives a printed copy thereof at the time of the serving of the subpoena.

The duties and powers of this subcommittee, therefore, are set forth in Public Law 601 of the 79th Congress.

We hope that, as a result of these hearings, the Committee on Un-American Activities will be able to consider legislative recommendations of further aid to the Government in combating the Communist apparatus. Beyond this we are confident that the information obtained here will serve further to alert patriotic American people of this area and of the United States as a whole to the threatening menace of the Communist conspiratorial operation.

If there is no objection by members of the committee, I would like to read the full text of Public Law 601 so that it will be included in our hearings at this point.

(Reading:)

#### RULE X

##### SEC.121. STANDING COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

#### RULE XI

##### POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

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And may I just briefly add this:

"We are in the room of a very distinguished Federal judge and a courtroom maintained by the United States of America. I know the rule, therefore, is that there is no smoking in this room. And I shall expect at all times the utmost dignified behavior by everyone in the room, not only because of where we are but because we are in a very serious business.

Therefore, I sort of feel that this is an admonition which may not be as fully necessary here this morning as it was in Los Angeles. But nevertheless I want to give it because it may be necessary for very, very few people to know of this instruction.

If there is any manifestation of either approval or disapproval, if there is any attempt on the part of any person, whether he is a witness or in the audience or on the part of legal counsel. But I will take it for granted that no lawyer will undertake to disturb the proceedings in any way or violate the rules of the committee.

Without further instruction, if there is any attempt to disturb, I will ask the marshal to please step up and remove that person from the room, no matter who he or she may be.

This is no place for the commission of any infraction of our rules or the dignity of the courtroom and the hearing.

I wish to say that every member of this subcommittee is a lawyer in his own right in his own State, and has practiced law many, many years before any of us first went to the United States Congress.

We are always glad to have legal counsel present with the witness.

Just to remind, however, the members of the bar who may be going to appear with witnesses as clients, I wish to read rule VIII of the committee, which has been the standing rule of this committee now for several years.

#### Rule VIII:

Counsel for a witness shall conduct himself in a professional, ethical, and proper manner. His failure to do so shall, upon a finding to that effect by a majority of the committee or subcommittee before which the witness is appearing, subject such counsel to disciplinary action which may include warning, censure, removing from the hearing room of counsel, or a recommendation of contempt proceedings.

In case of such removal of counsel, the witness shall have a reasonable time to obtain other counsel, said time to be determined by the committee. Should the witness deliberately or capriciously fail or refuse to obtain the services of other counsel within such reasonable time, the hearing shall continue and the testimony of such witness shall be heard without benefit of counsel.

I wish to say that a couple of days ago in Los Angeles, it was necessary for us to ask the removal of certain members of the bar from the hearing room. As much as we regretted having to do it, we found no other way than to do just that. Of course, we postponed the hearing of those witnesses who then were without counsel. And one of those witnesses will be required to be here at these San Francisco hearings.

Now, I wish to read rule VII of the standing rules of this committee, which is especially applicable to all counsel:

A. At every hearing, public or executive, every witness shall be accorded the privilege of having counsel of his own choosing.

B. The participation of counsel during the course of any hearing and while the witness is testifying shall be limited to advising said witness as to his legal rights. Counsel shall not be permitted to engage in oral argument with the committee, but shall confine his activity to the area of legal advice to his client.

Therefore, I am sure it is appropriate for me to say, in addition to reading rule VII, that the only way legal counsel can speak to the committee is through his own client.

I will not entertain any motions by the lawyers nor any arguments by any lawyers.



This is not a court of law, and we will not assume to be a court of law.

So, please, we will observe that rule strictly.

And I know I will not have to admonish the lawyers again on that point.

Are you ready to proceed, Mr. Arens?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. I also wish to state this:

The committee will cooperate to the utmost with the press and with all the public information agencies and bodies.

These hearings are not televised, I will announce, so that no witness needs to raise that point.

I wish to state that Mr. Arens, who will ask the questions, is the director and counsel here at the hearings for the committee.

Proceed, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chester MacPhee.

Would you kindly stand and be sworn.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MACPHEE. I do.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you.

#### TESTIMONY OF CHESTER R. MacPHEE

Mr. AREN. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. MACPHEE. I am the collector of customs for the Treasury Department for the 28th collection district in northern California, Utah, and Nevada. I live in San Francisco.

Mr. ARENS. And your full name, Mr. MacPhee?

Mr. MACPHEE. Chester R. MacPhee.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you occupied that position?

Mr. MACPHEE. Approximately 3½ years.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. MacPhee, would you tell us the area covered by the port of San Francisco.

Mr. DOYLE. Counsel, may I interrupt at this point.

I neglected to have the record show—and I wish the reporter would have it show at this point—that all three members of the subcommittee are personally present, so that the full subcommittee is here.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. MacPhee, what is the geographical area covered by the port of San Francisco customs service?

Mr. MACPHEE. My area covers everything from Bakersfield north. It covers the entire States of Utah and Nevada.

The port is commonly termed the "port of San Francisco-Oakland." It is a combined operation here.

Mr. ARENS. Could you give us a general estimate of the number of ships arriving here in the course of any given period of time? Just the volume of shipping here is what I am trying to elicit from you?

Mr. MACPHEE. The volume of ships arriving would probably approximate about 20,000 a year. Of those, about 5,000 would be foreign inward direct.

Mr. ARENS. How many of those ships would be from the Orient? Just a rough estimate.

Mr. MACPHEE. I would say 80 percent of them.

Mr. ARENS. During the course of your work in the customs service do you have, in addition to your regular checking of legitimate commodities which arrive here, an area of concern with reference to illicit commodities arriving here?

By "illicit commodities," to be more specific, do you have an area of concern, say, with reference to narcotics and Communist literature, propaganda which may be arriving in quantities in violation of the law?

Mr. MACPHEE. Yes.

Under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938 we are required to check all types of printed matter that might come in with the idea that it should be checked for political propaganda or subversive material.

And we maintain an operation within the customhouse building in San Francisco for that purpose.

As far as narcotics is concerned, it is part of our daily operation. And that is a responsibility both inside the customhouse and on the waterfront, at the airports, and every place that we operate.

Mr. ARENS. Could you tell us the approximate number of employees who are engaged here in the area of activity dealing with Communist propaganda?

Mr. MACPHEE. I would say that there would be, including customs and post office personnel, approximately about 10 persons.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. MacPhee, I will not pursue the inquiry further of you because, as you know, the committee appreciates very much your courtesy in helping arrange the appearance here today of others in the customs service who are what we might call the technicians in this field.

We want to thank you for your testimony.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you, Mr. MacPhee, for taking time from your busy duties.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, if it meets with your approval, I should like now to call Mr. Irving Fishman.

Kindly remain standing, Mr. Fishman, while the chairman administers an oath to you.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FISHMAN. I do.

Mr. DOYLE. Please be seated.

### TESTIMONY OF IRVING FISHMAN

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself, if you please, sir, by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. FISHMAN. My name is Irving Fishman. I live in New York City. I am deputy collector of customs, assigned to the port of New York.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, do you, as deputy collector of customs assigned to the port of New York, have a basic responsibility nationwide in connection with an operation dealing with Communist, foreign, subversive propaganda?

Mr. FISHMAN. The Treasury Department assigned me several years ago to the job of controlling the importation of political propaganda

countrywide, and I have been engaged in that work for the past 4 or 5 years.

Mr. ARENS. Over how many ports of entry do you have a concern or jurisdiction in which Communist political propaganda is entering the country?

Mr. FISHMAN. Forty-five customs collection ports of entry.

Mr. ARENS. In the Nation?

Mr. FISHMAN. In the United States and its possessions.

Mr. ARENS. Before we proceed further, Mr. Fishman, I think it would be well, from the standpoint of clarity in this record, if you would give us not a technician's summary, but a general summary of the law that is applicable principally to the Foreign Agents Registration Act. Just give us what we might call a layman's thumbnail sketch.

Mr. FISHMAN. I am sure the committee is familiar with the interest of our agency in the importation of political propaganda.

General speaking, certain Federal statutes concern themselves with the importation of political propaganda and subversive material.

Under section 305 of the Tariff Act of 1930 any subversive materials which advocate insurrection against the United States may be considered as prohibited importations. And the Customs Bureau, a branch of the Treasury Department, in cooperation with the Post Office Department and Justice Department, is concerned with the importation of political propaganda in view of certain provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938.

This act is a disclosure-type of statute, and its purpose is to make certain that those who represent foreign governments in the United States be registered with the Department of Justice so that the United States Government may be aware of their activities.

Such propaganda or political propaganda as is disseminated by these agents is required to be labeled in such manner that the recipient, the person who reads it, may fully understand its source and evaluate it properly.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, if you will pardon the interruption, is the theory of the law, crudely speaking, substantially the same as the theory which undergirds the food and drug laws; namely, that a person who is a recipient of some medicine that would be in his medicine cabinet, is entitled to know the nature and source of the medicine which is in the cabinet and whether or not it is poisonous? Is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. It is a fair analogy. It is similar to the warning-type of label that you might find on medicines.

Mr. ARENS. In other words, is it true that the Foreign Agents Registration Act is not in any sense a censorship statute?

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Is it a labeling statute?

Mr. FISHMAN. No; it is a disclosure-type of statute.

Mr. ARENS. When you say, "No," you mean "No, it is not such a statute"?

Mr. FISHMAN. It is not a prohibition-type statute.

I think the language of a decision in Federal district court might describe the effect of the law better than I could. I was just looking at this a few minutes ago.



This is, of course, a brief statement of the effect of the decision. It says:

Congress in enacting this subchapter, requiring the agent of foreign principals who undertakes to disseminate foreign political propaganda in United States to register with the Secretary of State, did not intend to deprive citizens of political information, even if such information should be propaganda of foreign government or foreign principal, but Congress did intend to bring activities of persons engaged in disseminating foreign political propaganda out into the open and to make known the identity of any person engaged in such activities, the source of the propaganda and who is bearing the expense of its dissemination in the United States.

Mr. ARENS. In summary, if I might, please, sir, perhaps what we might call a layman's appraisal of the law, see if you will agree with me that the Foreign Agents Registration Act, while not prohibiting the importation into the United States of foreign political or Communist propaganda, does require two things: One, that the recipient who disseminates it in the United States should register with the Department of Justice as a foreign agent.

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. And, secondly, that the political propaganda itself be labeled as such. Is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. As he disseminates it.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, could you tell us how many active units of the customs service are maintaining a concern on the Communist propaganda coming into the country? How many active units do you have?

Mr. FISHMAN. We have three active units and continual tests being made in other areas of the country. We have arranged with the Post Office Department to direct much of this material to these 3 units, 1 of which is located in New York City, the second of which is located here in San Francisco, and the third in Chicago.

Mr. ARENS. Could you tell us how Communist propaganda enters the United States from abroad; what mode of transportation?

Mr. FISHMAN. It arrives by mail and by means other than the mails. It could come by freight, by air. Generally speaking, the greatest percentage of it does come by mail—first class, air, registered mail, ordinary parcel post.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have statistics, Mr. Fishman, on the total volume of Communist political propaganda arriving which has been identified as such by channels on which there can be maintained adequate surveillance? In other words, I mean political propaganda that comes in other than the political propaganda which may be smuggled into the country.

Mr. FISHMAN. We maintain statistics of the number of articles which are submitted to us for examination as suspected of containing political propaganda.

Mr. ARENS. They are submitted to you in customs by the Post Office Department. Is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes. And, of course, such propaganda materials as are imported by means other than mails are also submitted.

Mr. ARENS. Before we get into the specifics of this particular area here, I should like to have the record reflect the general picture as to the volume of Communist political propaganda which arrives in the United States.

Mr. FISHMAN. In the year 1955, at the port of New York there were submitted for examination 1,917,000-some-odd articles of mail; at the

port of Chicago 238,000; and at the port of San Francisco some 460,000 making a total, at least at three ports of entry, of over 2,500,000 packages of mail.

Mr. ARENS. How many individual publications, such as the one I have in my hand now, would be contained in a package? What are your statistics again, Mr. Fishman?

Mr. FISHMAN. 2,563,000 packages were submitted for examination.

Mr. ARENS. We will say 2½ million packages. Is that correct, roughly speaking?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right. The number of items in a given package varies. But we have estimated that in these 2½ million there were 4,245,000 individual pieces of printed information from the Soviet-bloc countries.

Mr. ARENS. Through three ports of entry?

Mr. FISHMAN. Through three ports of entry at which we maintain these controls.

Mr. ARENS. Are there about 45 ports of entry altogether?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, is it true that Communist political propaganda enters other ports of entry, but you check only the principal ports of entry?

Mr. FISHMAN. We attempt to control it all by diverting it through the exchange post offices at the three places I mentioned. But much of this material will get into the mails, the city mails, and be distributed beyond our control. We do not know exactly how much of it there is, but observations are that there are quantities of it which do get into channels of commerce.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been in the customs service?

Mr. FISHMAN. Twenty-nine years.

Mr. ARENS. In the course of your 29 years' experience in the customs service, and in the course of your conversation with other people in the customs service, have you, or has anyone to your certain knowledge, ever seen a single piece of Communist political propaganda which was labeled in accordance with the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. FISHMAN. I have personally never seen a piece. And it has never come to my attention that anybody else in our agency has seen any of it labeled.

Mr. SCHERER. May I interrupt at this point? Have you an opinion as to why it is not labeled in accordance with the act?

Mr. FISHMAN. My opinion, of course, would be only a personal one.

Mr. SCHERER. You are the expert on it.

Mr. FISHMAN. The law is a little ambiguous in this respect. It requires that the propaganda be labeled when it is disseminated by the registered agent in the United States. That pretty much leaves it up to the agent to decide what is political propaganda. So that I would assume his defense for not labeling it would be that he doesn't consider it political propaganda.

Mr. VELDE. You mean the agents for a foreign country?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. I expect to ask Mr. Fishman a number of questions respecting his suggestions on amendments to the law. There are a number of points he has in mind he would like to suggest to the committee, which I think would be very helpful.

Mr. DOYLE. Counsel, I want to interrupt right here and say that if this law is ambiguous let's make a recommendation that it be removed from the ambiguous list and made specific, definite.

Mr. ARENS. I think as he proceeds in his testimony we will begin to see some of the deficiencies, Mr. Chairman. And he will have some—

Mr. SCHERER. Maybe I just jumped the gun.

Mr. ARENS. Not at all.

Mr. DOYLE. Maybe I did, too. But in the field of Public Law 601, under which we operate, as you well know, that is one of our responsibilities, to make recommendations in the field of legislation dealing with this very subject—subversive activities.

Mr. ARENS. What are the languages in which the Communist political propaganda appears in the United States?

Mr. FISHMAN. Well, they appear in practically every language. In some instances, for example, a publication will be printed in 13 or 14 languages.

This particular one I am looking at is published in Russian, Chinese, English, French, German, and Spanish. But some of the others are published in many other languages.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell us in general the recipients? Do the recipients include schools, colleges, and various groups in the United States?

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes. It is directed to many student organizations in the United States and to many college libraries.

Of course, there are, as you know, many organizations in the United States seriously engaged in the study of the general problem of communism who have this material sent to them for a real purpose.

But much of this is directed to student bodies at the schools.

Here are a circular and a poster, which advertise an international student week. And a poster of the International Union of Students, which is well known as a Communist organization. It calls for representatives from all countries to attend a Universal Student Week in 1956, November 10 to 17, in Prague, Czechoslovakia.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. SCHERER. What were those dates?

Mr. FISHMAN. November 10-17.

This is just past now.

Mr. SCHERER. Last month.

Mr. DOYLE. From where did that poster come, sir?

Mr. FISHMAN. That was among the material which had come in through these ports, and is one of the exhibits which I brought with me.

Mr. DOYLE. Is there any estimate of the volume of that material?

Mr. FISHMAN. They were sent to every school, student organization, and to practically every school in the United States.

Mr. ARENS. There is no indication, of course, is there, Mr. Fishman, on the document which you have just displayed that the document itself emanated from a Communist source?

Mr. FISHMAN. No.

Mr. ARENS. In other words, assuming the poison is there, the recipient who takes the poison has no indication that it is poison. Is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

<sup>1</sup> Document referred to retained in committee files.



Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, I would like, if it meets with your approval, to go into the same subject matter with reference to the San Francisco area. And then to discuss with you the content of some of these documents; some of the specific weaknesses which you feel, on the basis of your background and experience, exist in the present law so that this committee, when it returns to Washington, can continue its deliberations and determine what it might be able to do to initiate legislation to plug up the loopholes.

Could you tell us something of the class and type of Communist propaganda which is arriving at the San Francisco port of entry?

Mr. FISHMAN. The unit in this port is a very active one and concerns itself pretty much with material which is intended for dissemination here.

During the past 3 months, for example, August, September, and October, rather, there was a total of 156,575 packages of—

Mr. ARENS. Could we pause here so that the record and the committee get those statistics clearly.

In the course of 3 months' time you made a test run here. Is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. No. We have a regular operation here.

Mr. ARENS. And then let's have those statistics again, please.

Mr. FISHMAN. 156,575 packages of mail were submitted to our unit for examination during August, September, and October of this year.

Mr. ARENS. Of the 156,575 packages that arrived here in 3 months, how many individual items such as, say, the item I have in my hand, this magazine, would be in each package? That will give us a little fairer appraisal of the volume.

Mr. FISHMAN. We can give you the figures.

Mr. ARENS. If you would, please, sir.

Mr. FISHMAN. 490,330 pieces of individual printed matter were contained in these packages.

Mr. SCHERER. In 3 months?

Mr. FISHMAN. Three months: August, September, and October.

Mr. ARENS. Were August, September, and October typical months?

Mr. FISHMAN. We would think so. It might be heavier other months or a little lighter.

Mr. ARENS. Then would it be safe to say we would multiply this 490,330 by 4 in order to get a fair appraisal of the volume here in a year? Is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That would be fairly correct.

Mr. ARENS. I wonder if we could hesitate here while I figure the amount, Mr. Fishman.

That would figure close to 2 million individual items arriving here, as a fair estimate, every year. Is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is about right.

Mr. ARENS. Where does this material originate? Most of it?

Mr. FISHMAN. Most of this material originates in the Soviet Union and the Soviet-bloc countries, including China. Much of it is shipped through Hong Kong, of course.

In this area, since it has a large number of people who have their origin in China, there would be a concentration of material which deals with China.

Mr. ARENS. May I ask you, if you please, sir, has any one at this port of entry, to your knowledge, since they have been processing this material, ever seen a single item which was labeled as Communist propaganda pursuant to the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. FISHMAN. It has never been reported to me, and I have personally seen quite a number of samples of this material. I have never seen any of it labeled.

Mr. ARENS. Could you tell us something of the recipients of this propaganda?

Mr. SCHERER. May I interrupt, Mr. Chairman?

How do you determine that a particular book is propaganda, Communist propaganda?

Mr. FISHMAN. The Foreign Agents Registration Act contains a definition of political propaganda. We use that pretty much as a guide to determine what is or what is not.

Mr. SCHERER. You have applied the test set forth in the statute to this material before labeling it in your own minds?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. In your own reports?

Mr. FISHMAN. The law contains a definition of political propaganda as that term is used in the act. And our people use that as their basis for determining what is political propaganda.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Fishman, do any of the agents of foreign governments who have charge of labeling this material ever label it voluntarily as propaganda?

Mr. FISHMAN. I have been told—I haven't seen it personally, but I have been told that some of the samples—you see the law also contemplates that samples of all of this material be made available to the United States Government through the Library of Congress. And I have been told that some of it reaching the library of Congress from the embassies and consulates does have some means of identification, some form of labeling.

Mr. VELDE. From the Iron Curtain countries?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. But the individual recipient sees nothing in here indicating that it is Communist propaganda. Is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

The Foreign Agents Registration Act merely states that it shall be labeled. It makes a general definition of how it should be labeled.

The Internal Security Act, of course, made some definite provisions for the form of labeling, but that at the present time is not being enforced.

Mr. SCHERER. Then do I understand we do have a compliance with the law for that part of the literature or propaganda that finds its way into official channels?

Mr. FISHMAN. Some if it does; yes. But then, as I said before, the evaluation of what is political propaganda and the requirement for labeling before dissemination is pretty much up in the air. It is pretty much up to these agents to decide when they are disseminating and whether it is in interstate commerce, and so on and so forth.

So you get a wholesale violation of that labeling provision.

Mr. SCHERER. But, as I understand it, the only actual labeling that you have seen or that has come to your knowledge is the labeling of



the material that finds its way into such agencies as the Library of Congress.

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

I have heard that people have picked up a book in the Library, for example, and found an insert saying or divulging the source of the material and who has distributed it.

Mr. SCHERER. The Library of Congress would get that particular piece from, maybe, the Soviet Embassy?

Mr. FISHMAN. That may be a good analysis of what is going on.

Mr. ARENS. Before we get to the matter I was starting to interrogate you about, content, do you have, in addition to the literature, some of which you are going to display in a few moments, motion-picture films which are received and processed from the Iron Curtain-bloc countries?

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes.

We have regular shipments of news material and feature material.

Mr. ARENS. And are those labeled? Have you ever seen any of those labeled, pursuant to the provisions of law?

Mr. FISHMAN. No. I haven't personally seen any of it labeled.

(Representative Harold H. Velde left the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. ARENS. Could you tell us, Mr. Fishman, something about the content of the samples which you have here.

In a few moments we want to allude to the typical samples which, at our request, you have brought up here from the customs service, these several mail sacks.

Mr. FISHMAN. Most of this material contains the typical type of political propaganda, and it is generally in aid of a foreign government. It is directed against the United States.

Mr. ARENS. What does some of it say about the United States engaging in germ warfare in Korea?

Mr. FISHMAN. We have had some films on that subject, and recently there has been a little more attempt to prove that germ warfare was actually used.

Mr. ARENS. Who was going to do the proving?

Mr. FISHMAN. The people in China, supposedly reputable citizens of China, who can testify that germ warfare was actually used.

We haven't had a good deal of that recently. Last year there was much material printed on that general subject. We had some motion-picture film which attempted to give the testimony of some army officers who had been jailed and who were testifying to the effect that the United States was engaged in germ warfare.

Some printed material at that time had come in, too.

Mr. SCHERER. United States Army officers?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. In addition to the Communist propaganda that actually comes into the United States for dissemination here in this country, have you had access to Communist propaganda which goes in transit through the United States from, say, one Communist-controlled country to some other non-Communist country?

Mr. FISHMAN. We have seen a good deal of it. There is a good deal of that that comes right through the country.

Mr. ARENS. And is that actually paid for, in part, by the United States taxpayers?

Mr. FISHMAN. It is carried in the United States mails.

Mr. ARENS. And the mails are not self-sustaining.

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Then, as a matter of fact, some of that type of this Communist propaganda you are displaying to us today, is disseminated in this country partly at the expense of the United States taxpayers. Isn't that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. When it is carried by our mails, it is.

Mr. ARENS. Have you seen any of this Communist propaganda which undertakes to impress upon the reader the glories of life under the Soviet system?

Mr. FISHMAN. We have seen a good deal of that.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you had any propaganda from the Soviet Union depicting what is happening in Hungary in the last few months?

Mr. FISHMAN. We have had some very recently. We have had some published in Hungary, as a matter of fact. I do not have much of it with me. We had some in New York before I left. Current issues are taken up and distorted to——

Mr. SCHERER. Does that propaganda tend to justify the Communist actions in Hungary?

Mr. FISHMAN. That which I had seen was supposedly factual reporting of what was occurring without giving any opinion one way or another or trying to justify it. The only emphasis recently——

Mr. SCHERER. Was the supposedly factual report in accord with the factual reporting received in our press?

Mr. FISHMAN. No. It was completely contrary.

From what I had observed, the majority of people in Hungary were in favor of the steps being taken, and there was merely a minority causing all the unrest.

Emphasis recently has been placed also on the French-British attack in Egypt. We have had lots of propaganda on that subject.

Mr. SCHERER. Coming from behind the Iron Curtain. Many references are made to it in New Times, which is a weekly. We are accused of a number of things.

Let's clear this point. The propaganda with reference to what has happened in Hungary in the past few months, and which is supposed to be factual reporting, is different from the information we receive in the American newspapers?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. DOYLE. In view of your statement in answering Mr. Scherer, I understood you to say that the propaganda that you observed coming from Hungary in the last few months represents that the slaughter by Soviet soldiers and butchers is favored by the majority of the people in Hungary?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is the report.

Mr. DOYLE. Didn't you say that was the propaganda, that the majority of people in Hungary favored that slaughter?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. Have you seen that kind of material from Hungary? Within how recent a period?

Mr. FISHMAN. I would say within the last 2 or 3 weeks.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you know from where it emanates? Have you any of it with you?

Mr. FISHMAN. I didn't bring any of it with me. It comes from Hungary, most of it.

But much of this material, judging by the format, is printed in the Soviet Union even though it bear evidence of origin in other countries. This material looks like it is set up pretty much the same, and, while it is titled differently, I think, if you will look at some of it, you will see that these publications look as though they have come off the same press.

The fact that they say they come from Hungary doesn't necessarily mean it has been printed in Hungary.

Mr. DOYLE. I realize that.

Mr. SCHERER. The Hungarian witness we had in Los Angeles, who was an identified Communist, indicated by his testimony, or, rather, lack of testimony, that he approved what Russia was doing.

Mr. FISHMAN. Is that so?

Mr. DOYLE. May I observe here it was interesting in the Los Angeles hearings that not a single witness before our committee in 2½ days who had been identified as a Communist on the stand, either directly or indirectly, criticized the Soviet butchering of the Hungarians. Not a single one of them raised his voice in protest. They were given plenty of chance, either directly or indirectly, through the press or otherwise, in connection with the hearings.

Mr. SCHERER. Maybe they had been reading some of this propaganda.

Mr. DOYLE. They wouldn't have to read it because that is part of the American Communist Party line, to defend that sort of destruction of human liberty in favor of the Soviet system.

Mr. ARENS. On the basis of your experience in this work, I would like to ask you something about the cost of these publications.

I have in my hand here a magazine which is written in Chinese, a pictorial review apparently.<sup>1</sup> Can you give us an indication of the cost of this publication to the recipient in the United States?

In other words, let's just say I want to subscribe to it.

Mr. FISHMAN. The subscription fee is very minimal.

Incidentally, that is a Korean publication.

Mr. ARENS. This is a Korean publication?

Mr. FISHMAN. But in view of the fact that most of these publications, or, in fact, all of them contain no advertising, it must be an awfully expensive proposition to print them.

Mr. ARENS. Is it clear that the price paid by the recipient would not begin to pay the cost of the publication of this document?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is very clear.

Mr. SCHERER. Let me ask this question. Does the recipient always pay for the document?

Mr. FISHMAN. No. There are some people who subscribe to this material. But, generally speaking, a good deal of it is sent without request. The sender will pick up a telephone directory or an organization name-and-address list and just blanket the area with this material whenever there is an issue which they feel should be taken up in the given area.

<sup>1</sup> Document retained in committee files.



Mr. SCHERER. My recollection, counsel, is that we had some testimony to the effect that Communists in this country were instructed to forward the addresses of persons who belonged to certain organizations in this country.

Mr. ARENS. Yes. That was used not only in connection with this project but also with reference to the redefection campaign where Communists were trying to bring pressure to bear on people in nationality groups to return.

Mr. SCHERER. Of course, those individuals whose names were supplied in the manner that I said, received that propaganda literature without cost and without, in some instances, wanting it.

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Or knowing how it came.

Isn't my recollection correct?

Mr. ARENS. That is correct; yes sir.

Mr. DOYLE. I understood this witness to say a minute ago that the booklet from Bulgaria—I think that is the one you lifted up there—was printed in 5 languages, and that some of the propaganda is printed in as many as 13 languages.

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, I asked you, if you recall—and I am sure you have complied with the request because of the gracious manner in which you have cooperated with the committee before—if you would kindly give each of the members of the committee a small packet which would be typical of this propaganda so they could be glancing at it. And I would like to ask you to proceed at your own pace to allude to the content of some of these publications, and make any other comments you wish with reference to the content and the recipients.

(Representative Harold H. Velde returned to the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. FISHMAN. Much of this material, as I have indicated before, deals with current issues before the public. And the observations made are generally slanted along the lines of the Communist thinking, that the Communist thinking chooses to follow.

I notice here in one of the current issues of New Times, after discussing the general problem involving the Suez, comment is made about the fact that:

The idea is being mooted in Washington of building a canal on Nicaraguan territory to connect the Atlantic and the Pacific.

It then goes on to say that:

The idea is not new. It was suggested in the last century, but United States Congress turned it down, preferring, instead, the canal across the Panama isthmus.

It then makes this observation:

But why has this more than half-century-old project popped up again? Have the Congressmen managed to overcome their fears? Or has the center of volcanic activity shifted from Nicaragua to Panama and streams of molten lava are threatening to seal up the locks of the Panama Canal?

No, the trouble, according to the UP correspondent, is that it is feared in influential United States quarters that "the eventual Suez settlement may involve precedents likely to be agitated with reference to the Panama Canal."

(Document marked "Fishman Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

We have other comments tending to stir up a little trouble between the United States and Japan. There had been some recent publicity in the United States News and World Report about the selling of ladies' blouses from Japan, and comment on that is made about the fact that the United States had had all the dollar blouse business all its own:

after the war, American business established a monopoly position in the Japanese market, flooded the country with its goods, and profited hugely in consequence.

And then some comment is made about the restrictions—additional comment here about Japan's rehabilitated industry and the fact that we are now withdrawing our friendship.

MR. ARENS. I take it this publication you are looking at now is in English.

MR. FISHMAN. This is an English publication of New Times, published in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Polish, Czech, Roumanian, Hungarian, and Swedish.

MR. ARENS. You know, of course, on the basis of your experience, that there are a great number of people in the United States who cannot read English but who read a foreign language. Isn't that correct?

MR. FISHMAN. That is correct.

MR. ARENS. Are those people barraged with Communist propaganda in their native language?

MR. FISHMAN. That is right.

About 60 percent of it that we observe comes in foreign languages.

We have brought here today samples of this material which is printed in the English language so that we can refer to it.

But I have, for example, some translations of some Chinese material.

MR. ARENS. Would you care to allude, please, Mr. Fishman, in rather summary form to some of those translations. I think it might take a little too much time to read them all because I see you have quite a number of them.

MR. FISHMAN. I can read some very brief excerpts here.

This is a letter from a Chinese student who left the United States to go back to China. And he starts his letter——

MR. ARENS. Is this a letter published in a magazine?

MR. FISHMAN. It is a letter which is subsequently published in a magazine and receives wide dissemination.

MR. ARENS. In the United States?

Let me be sure.

This is a Chinese student who was here and who went back to Red China. Is that correct?

MR. FISHMAN. That is correct.

MR. ARENS. And you are going to quote certain language from that letter?

MR. FISHMAN. That is right.

(Document marked "Fishman Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

It has been 10 years already since we were separated at New Haven. Recently I heard that you are still in the United States and that you are "gloriously employed" as a "favorite" engineer——

at the X plant.

Remembering the time when we were schoolmates at Yale, we took our meals together, lived together, and even intimately talked about our plans to do some profitable things for our fatherland after we completed our studies.

It then goes on:

In the past, because of the poisonous propaganda \* \* \*, we did not understand what is communism, and we were afraid of it. After the liberation, everything shows us that our way of looking at things in the past was wrong. We were deceived by the manmade Iron Curtain \* \* \*. In these 7 years, we, who were at the scene, could not find anything bad about the Communist Party. On the contrary, we feel that we are fortunate to be in this modern China.

Then they go on further down——

Mr. ARENS. This letter is reproduced in some publication which is disseminated in the United States. Is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

It is rumored abroad that New China does not pay much attention to science and has no freedom of learning. This is completely a kind of false lies. New China's attention toward science has been historically unprecedented. \* \* \*

Students abroad, regardless whether or not they had any relationship with the \* \* \* party in the past, are all welcomed to return to serve the people. I feel that there is no justification for a patriot like you, who have such scientific attainment and righteousness, to remain in the United States for a long period of time. Do you morally feel right to make filthy money with your blood and flesh for the "tycoon" than to serve the thousands of fellow men of our fatherland? Are you willing to be a "white Chinese" in a foreign country for a long period of time?

And so on and so on.

Of course, he suggests that possibly some of this material may be difficult to distribute. And so they say, "If you cannot correspond with us conveniently, send your letters to us via Hong Kong or care of the Indian Embassy in the United States."

Mr. ARENS. Would you refer, please, Mr. Fishman, to 1 or 2 other typical illustrations there, and then I should like to ask you if you would allude to the mail sacks that you brought up here.

Mr. FISHMAN. Most of these are pretty much the same.

It has been several years since we parted in Shanghai. In an issue of Journal of Comparative Neurology, I saw an article you wrote, and I was very proud of you.

This is continuing from the letter:

Therefore, people in the field of science are very welcome in China. Especially, educators like yourself, who are in a high level of education in science, are more respected. I hope that you will consider the possibility of returning to China to give your best in science to our fatherland.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, did you, at our request, bring to the committee mail sacks which you selected at random from some of the mail sacks which are arriving in San Francisco?

Mr. FISHMAN. We did.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have some on which the seal has not as yet been broken?

Mr. FISHMAN. Oh, yes.

Mr. ARENS. Would it inconvenience you, Mr. Fishman, to select one of the mail sacks on which the seal hasn't been broken, break the seal, and then see, if you would, what you find on the inside.

Mr. FISHMAN. This is a mail sack that we opened this morning after we arrived in the hearing room.



Mr. ARENS. I see on the outside of the sack Chinese lettering and then "Republique Populaire de Chine Postes." I assume that means People's Republic of China, does it not?

Mr. FISHMAN. This bag contains a quantity of these individual-addressed packages. We can open one and see what is in it.

Mr. ARENS. The one I have in my hand and a number of others are addressed in Chinese.

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Does that indicate to you that that package is addressed to a Chinese recipient?

Mr. FISHMAN. Not necessarily.

Mr. ARENS. So that the record will be clear, Mr. Fishman, is this gentleman who is now translating one of the translators of the customs service?

Mr. FISHMAN. He is in charge of the unit in San Francisco.

Mr. ARENS. What is his name?

Mr. FISHMAN. Stephen K. Louie.

Mr. LOUIE. The Chinese on this package says "New York, USA."

Mr. FISHMAN. This envelope contains a publication entitled "Women of China," which is a publication we have continually found to contain political propaganda.

I would say that this bag has 200 or 300 individually addressed copies of this publication.

Mr. ARENS. Let me see, if I may, Mr. Fishman.

I assume what you have here is typical.

If I may be permitted to comment, Mr. Chairman, here is one addressed to Baltimore, Md.; another to New York City. Here is one to St. Louis, Mo. Here is one to Pasadena, Calif. Here is one addressed to an address in St. Petersburg, Fla. Here is another one to New York City. Here is one addressed to the Council on African Affairs in New York City. And the Council on African Affairs has been cited as a Communist front organization.

Here is one addressed to the American Library Association, Chicago, Ill.

(The witness confers with Mr. Arens.)

Mr. ARENS. It is agreeable that I allude to the city, is it not? And not allude to the recipients?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. Why not? This is a congressional investigation.

Mr. FISHMAN. Our Department has considered and has stated its position to the committee that it considers the names and addresses of these recipients as classified information.

We will be very happy to give the information to the committee, but not at a public hearing.

Mr. ARENS. As a matter of fact, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Fishman has given us considerable information on this line in executive session.

Here is another to New York City, and still another to New York City.

It would appear from this, Mr. Fishman, assuming this is typical, as you say, that the San Francisco port-of-entry material goes to areas all over the United States.

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. I assume the same is true for material coming in from Europe via the port of entry in New York. Is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have another illustration you want to give us?

Mr. SCHERER. Pardon me just a minute, Mr. Fishman.

When you picked up that sack this morning to bring to the hearing room do I understand you did not know the contents of this sack?

Mr. FISHMAN. No. Much of this material arrived over the weekend. As a matter of fact, we had a hundred-and-some-odd sacks that came in Friday afternoon.

Mr. SCHERER. You just opened that sack this morning so we would have some of this material in order that the press could take a picture before the hearings?

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. I have my hand on one with a seal, obviously not broken. Would you be in violation of any rules to break the seal now and open this sack? I assume it is typical. We asked you to bring typical sacks up here of mail material arriving from the Far East.

You call this a bulk shipment, do you not?

Mr. FISHMAN. This is parcel post.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to make one point here, please, Mr. Chairman.

You do not have access to any of the material arriving from abroad by first-class mail, do you?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. In other words, all the statistics you have given us here on Communist foreign political propaganda arriving in the United States are applicable solely and exclusively to bulk shipments such as those we are now examining. Is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is pretty much correct, although we have examined some in certain instances with the permission of the addressee—we can get into some of the first-class mail with their consent.

Mr. ARENS. But that would be very rare, would it not?

Mr. FISHMAN. We would have to communicate with them and ask them to waive the privacy of the seal.

Mr. ARENS. So this record is clear, foreign Communist propaganda coming in first class is not seen.

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Would you reach in the sack on which you have just broken the seal and tell us if you have a comment to make with reference to that material.

Mr. FISHMAN. This is a package addressed to San Francisco, Calif. It contains six copies of People's China, No. 19.

Mr. ARENS. And do you here and now, while you are under oath, assert that that is Communist propaganda?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct. We have consistently found it to be.

Mr. VELDE. It is a little bit unclear, Mr. Fishman.

All that you will find there is not necessarily Communist propaganda, is it?

Mr. FISHMAN. No. We are apt to find some scientific material, some technical material, which is coming here for proper use.



Mr. VELDE. I noticed, or I thought I noticed, that there was no postage on the individual articles.

Mr. FISHMAN. These are parcel post, and some contain a postage stamp.

Yes, there is postage on it.

Mr. VELDE. I am sorry. I didn't see it.

Mr. FISHMAN. Some of it may slip through one of the stamping machines. But all of it that I can see here has postage on it.

Mr. SCHERER. The mere fact that it has postage on it doesn't indicate that the full cost of the distribution of that mail in the United States is borne by the sender, does it?

Mr. FISHMAN. No.

Mr. SCHERER. In fact, we subsidize that class of mail, do we not?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. So that the American taxpayer is actually subsidizing the distribution of some of this Communist propaganda in the United States?

Mr. FISHMAN. To some degree.

I assume that we have some reciprocal agreement whereby the country in question will carry our mail for ultimate delivery to the addressee.

Mr. ARENS. We have no reciprocal agreement whereby they carry our American propaganda for distribution, do we?

Mr. FISHMAN. I don't know about that.

Mr. ARENS. I just put my hand in the sack here. I hope I wasn't being presumptuous.

I picked up this letter addressed to an address in Central America.

Would this be a transshipment, what we call a transit shipment?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right. It is in transit through the United States.

Mr. ARENS. I wouldn't presume to open it to find out whether or not Communist propaganda is in here, but this would illustrate the transshipment of at least a piece of material, literature of some kind, to Central America?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. Those copies, Mr. Counsel, of People's China that you had in your hand a few minutes ago bore no evidence that the sender was complying with the labeling law?

Mr. FISHMAN. No.

Mr. ARENS. No, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Counsel, may I at this point relate this:

I have been observing these 10 or 11 samples of the propaganda that were given me by the witness' associates. And, while I am not an expert printer and have never been, I have had some experience with the cost of publications.

Here is one, for instance, in book form in color. Certainly that would cost at least 50 cents for 1 copy.

Mr. FISHMAN. It costs a lot more than that.

Mr. DOYLE. At least that. It might have cost 85 or 90 cents or a dollar.

But just look at it in color. And a beautiful color backing on it.

Mr. SCHERER. And I might state that that has no advertising what-seminates it.

Mr. DOYLE. No advertising of any kind.

Mr. SCHERER. None of this does that I have.

Mr. DOYLE. This is printed in English and Chinese. The source of it is "Printed in the People's Republic of China." That is stated in English as well as in Chinese.

Edited by the Chinese Islamic Association in 1956. Published by the Nationalities Publishing House in Peking.

I have one more comment.

Here is a very interesting, very expensive booklet showing the accomplishments of the Chinese at least. This is not in color, but you can see the extensive photography. This book is edited and published by the All-China Athletic Federation, Peking, 1956.

Each copy of that book certainly would have cost from 50 cents to a dollar to print in this country. At least that.

Now I wish to just take one minute to do this:

While you have been questioning the witness, I have been reading this book—New China Advances to Socialism—which is a book printed by the Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1956. It contains a selection of speeches delivered at the third session of the First National People's Congress, consisting of 200 pages in English. On page 15 thereof I just want to read 2 or 3 sentences with reference to the United States, and what they are saying about the United States.

But in the United States ruling circles there are now still some persons in powerful position, particularly those who actually handle foreign policy, who are still obstructing this change. They do not wish to see a releasing of tension; they do not want peaceful coexistence among nations.

Now notice this:

Their sole interest is in maximum profits for United States monopoly capital; they still attempt to impose their own will on other countries through the policy of war blackmail.

That is the line that is coming in through this book.

I thought it important that that go into the record at this point.

Mr. SCHERER. There is a little irony connected with this publication that counsel just handed me. It is published in English by the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions in Budapest, 1956—Social Welfare in Hungary.

Glancing over it briefly, it would indicate or attempts to indicate how happy the Hungarian people are under the present regime.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, in addition to the literature which you have displayed here today, do the Communists also send into the country literature of the licentious, vulgar variety?

I do not believe you have any of it here because I asked you not to bring that type of material with you.

Mr. FISHMAN. We have seen some evidence of it in the intransit mails more than we have in the direct mails from the Soviet Union.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information respecting the penetration of Communist plates into this country? That is printing devices that can be used to reproduce other articles and publications?

Mr. FISHMAN. Whenever our examination delays material which, I guess, they feel should be published immediately we have some indications of transportation to the United States of printing plates from which these publications may be printed.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to ask you, Mr. Fishman, about some of the areas touched on a little earlier, namely, areas of weakness in the law or places in which the law might be strengthened so that we could begin at least to cope with this flood.

First of all, does the law specify a single agency to be in charge of surveillance and control of foreign Communist propaganda?

Mr. FISHMAN. No.

The Foreign Agents Registration Act is administered by the Department of Justice. But the enforcement of the provisions that we have had reference to this morning is pretty much a business of the Government agency concerned taking the responsibility for it.

For that reason the Post Office and Treasury and Justice have combined to do what they can to control the importation of this material.

Mr. ARENS. What would be the net result in your opinion—I mean would it help if the law specified a particular agency to be in control of this operation so that there could be a fixation of responsibility?

Mr. FISHMAN. I think it would help for a number of reasons. First of all, the responsibility would be fixed by the Congress, and provision budgetwise made for adequate control throughout the country.

Mr. ARENS. If there is an agent of a foreign principal who disseminates political propaganda in the United States who himself is abroad, is he required to register and is he required under the law to label the propaganda?

Mr. FISHMAN. The Department of Justice or, rather, the Attorney General, in an opinion which he handed down in 1940, made it clear that an agent who acts in a foreign country in connection with the distribution of political propaganda in the United States comes within the provision of the law, and should be required to register and, also in due course, to label in accordance with the law.

Mr. ARENS. Would it help if the law were clearer in the specification as to who is to make the determination that a given publication is political propaganda within the purview of the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. FISHMAN. I think it would be of considerable help.

Mr. ARENS. What would you suggest along that line?

Mr. FISHMAN. The area of ambiguity as such—and this is, as I say, strictly my own personal opinion—is whether the requirement for labeling attaches itself to the publication when it enters the United States or when it leaves the hands of the registered agent.

If the requirement applied when the material arrived in the United States there would be no question that all of it would be labeled as we think it should be labeled.

But the current interpretation is that the disseminator, the agent, determines the time for labeling.

Mr. ARENS. Now may I ask you still another question? Under the existing, we will say at least, interpretation of the law, if not the law, is a person in diplomatic status in the United States in a consulate or embassy, permitted to receive all of this material he wants?

Mr. FISHMAN. Oh, yes. He can have all of it.

Mr. ARENS. Is he permitted to then, in turn, disseminate it?

Mr. FISHMAN. He is required to indicate the source when he disseminates it.



Mr. DOYLE. May I interrupt there? Do I understand your answer to be that a foreign ambassador or consul in our country could receive all of this material without it being labeled?

Mr. FISHMAN. He is an agent of a foreign government. He is entitled to have this material.

Mr. DOYLE. Then it could all be shipped to him; could it not?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. And disseminated through the foreign——

Mr. FISHMAN. Throughout the United States.

Mr. ARENS. As a matter of fact, it is a problem, is it not, Mr. Fishman, that the consulates and embassies and diplomatic personnel in the United States have, at least by practice, had a kind of an immunity from any surveillance or any restrictions on the Communist political propaganda which they would receive and disseminate? Isn't that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right. The exemption in the law refers to "a duly accredited diplomatic or consular officer of a foreign government who is so recognized by the Department of State" or "any member of the staff of or any person employed by a duly accredited diplomatic or consular office of a foreign government," and so on.

Mr. ARENS. Would it help or would it be, in your judgment, salutary for the law to require anyone in a consulate or embassy, irrespective of diplomatic status, who is engaged principally, we will say, in disseminating Communist propaganda, to comply with all of the provisions of the law?

Mr. FISHMAN. It would be very helpful.

Mr. ARENS. And we would then permit the individual within the consulate and embassy, if he wants it, to get all he wants.

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. But if he is engaged principally in disseminating Communist political propaganda he has to comply with all the requirements of the law.

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Do you think that would be helpful?

Mr. FISHMAN. I think so.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you have at your fingertips the information concerning the number of individuals connected with the consulates of foreign countries who have been engaged in Communist political activity? Do you have that information? I think it would be good to put it in the record at this point.

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. It certainly would be helpful.

Mr. ARENS. We have it percentagewise. Some time ago we took a sampling of names of Iron Curtain diplomatic people in the United States. The sampling consisted of 100 names selected at random.

Mr. SCHERER. Who made the selection?

Mr. ARENS. The committee staff and the committee. We just selected the names of 100 persons at random from Iron Curtain embassies and consulates.

We sent those to the Central Intelligence Agency and said, "Without giving us back either the names which we have sent you or the sources of your information, give us for public disclosure the backgrounds of these individuals."

Out of these 100 names taken at random, Central Intelligence Agency replied for public use: 32 were active in the intelligence work of their nations, 21 in Communist organizational work, 29 in other subversive activities.

In other words, in this sampling of 100 names taken at random from people in Iron Curtain consulates and embassies, 82 out of 100 were active in what we would characterize, quite appropriately, as subversive activities.

Mr. SCHERER. Those are the individuals who receive the shipments of Communist propaganda—some of these shipments of Communist propaganda from behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. ARENS. I didn't catch that last comment, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. And these individuals you have just mentioned do receive—it is obvious, but I want it in the record—these individuals do receive some of this propaganda from behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. ARENS. That is correct.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Arens, how do you define subversive activities as it relates to these representatives in the United States; these 100? You said that they were engaged in subversive activities.

Mr. SCHERER. He said 82 of the 100 sampled. About how long ago was that sample taken?

Mr. ARENS. Some few years ago. It was in the course of the last several years. I do not have the exact material with me. I didn't anticipate this question.

Mr. DOYLE. When you say that our Central Intelligence Agency reports that 82 of them were engaged in subversive activities do you mean that 82 of the 100 were engaged in attacking, directly or indirectly, our constitutional form of government in the United States?

Mr. ARENS. There is no question about that; yes, sir.

I just wanted to emphasize on this record, if you please, Mr. Chairman, this particular loophole in the law. And I would like, if I could, to ask Mr. Fishman about another area.

Mr. SCHERER. It should be clear that the 82 from the 100 sampled were diplomatic personnel from Iron Curtain countries.

Mr. ARENS. That is correct.

Are there any suggestions, Mr. Fishman, you could make whereby we could begin some type of a control on the Communist propaganda that is going in transit through the United States?

Mr. FISHMAN. We are in the midst of a study of that right at this moment. And I wish to postpone any comments until we have completed this investigation.

Mr. ARENS. I should like, if I may—and I sure it will be agreeable—to extend to Mr. Fishman and his colleagues in the customs service the desire of the committee to receive from you, Mr. Fishman, and your colleagues, a detailed memorandum outlining the specific changes which you would recommend to the law to meet these various problems we have been considering here today in the course of this relatively brief session.

Mr. SCHERER. And when the study is completed which he just talked about, the study that is being presently made, may I move that the result of that study be incorporated in the record at this point.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. DOYLE. I am sure, Mr. Velde, you will join with Mr. Scherer and myself in giving that very cordial, unanimous invitation because

<sup>1</sup>This study had not been completed at the time of the printing of these hearings.

certainly under Public Law 601 this committee is charged with entering into a study and reporting back to Congress any recommended changes or additions or amendments to legislation dealing with the subject of subversive activities and subversive propaganda.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, I have asked you a number of questions here today.

Are there any areas of interest which I have not probed here?

Mr. FISHMAN. No. I think we have covered pretty much the problem we are faced with in the service.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Velde, any questions?

Mr. VELDE. To get the matter straight in my own mind, you or your department are not advocating that we censure or stop all of this propaganda?

Mr. FISHMAN. Oh, no.

Mr. VELDE. It is merely a matter of labeling it so that the recipient thereof will know that it is Communist propaganda?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right. We feel that anybody who wants to read this material and who has asked for it should have it. And wherever anyone indicates to us that he has subscribed for this material we are more than happy to let him have it.

The only admonition we make is that if it is intended for dissemination then that individual should be registered with the Department of Justice.

But anybody who chooses to subscribe to this material for his own use, we see no objection under the present law to his having it.

Mr. SCHERER. But any person receiving any of this material who has not subscribed for it but who receives it as a result of Communists in this country sending his address to someplace behind the Iron Curtain, should know the source of that material.

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right. He should also have an opportunity to say whether he wants it or not.

We are clear to this extent, that sending this material promiscuously to people, especially people who have had their origin in foreign countries, does a lot of harm.

And hearings of this type do a great deal of good since they make public the fact that the "return to the homeland" program, for example, was a general program directed to all rather than an attempt to seek certain individuals and invite them back home.

When the return-to-the-homeland or the "redefection" program began we had lots of complaints sent to us. People who had had their origin in Poland and Hungary, for example, who had immigrated here felt that they had been assimilated into the country. No one knew where they were. Suddenly they were bombarded with this return-to-the-homeland material. And they were afraid they had been spotted.

They wrote to us and pleaded with us not to send this material to them, that it was scaring their families and so forth.

I think as a result of the hearing in Philadelphia the public became aware of the fact that this was a general propaganda program because



the complaints started to fall off and the program itself, the redefection program itself, fell down.

We still get some of it, but not in the volume we had before the Philadelphia hearing.

Mr. ARENS. I do not want to ask you a question that precipitates another area of interest of the Appropriations Committee, but do you have sufficient manpower in the Customs to spotcheck this material at the 45 ports of entry?

Mr. FISHMAN. No. We couldn't possibly at the 45 ports of entry.

We have adequate personnel at the three ports where we control this, where we try to control this material. But we couldn't possibly, with our present personnel, attempt to set up any units anywhere else except in these three ports where we now have established units.

Mr. ARENS. Of course, the problem there would be one before the Appropriations Committee primarily rather than this committee.

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Could you give us, however, just a brief estimate of any manpower needs that you would feel would be desirable to get a more effective control, assuming you had a good law?

Mr. FISHMAN. Generally speaking, we should have control units wherever there are exchange post offices in the United States since these post offices handle mail destined for areas wider than their own States.

Mr. ARENS. Could you tell us about that. I do not understand, Mr. Fishman, about an exchange post office. Your terminology is strange to me.

Mr. FISHMAN. There are around the country, for example, exchange offices at Seattle, San Francisco, Chicago, and New York; these are main exchange post offices.

There are other limited exchange post offices in New Orleans and Miami, etc.

If we had 1 or 2 people assigned to these exchange offices to examine this material we might have a more effective control.

Mr. ARENS. How many exchange post offices are there in the country?

Mr. FISHMAN. Offhand I couldn't say.

Mr. ARENS. Would it be about a dozen or a hundred?

Mr. FISHMAN. About a dozen that we have customs offices at.

Mr. ARENS. You would be checking the material that would be going through the exchange post office?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. How does an exchange post office differ from any other post office?

Mr. FISHMAN. The post office in a given State or city would handle mail only destined for that area.

For example, at the port of New York we handle all the mail which comes from Europe. It filters through the New York post office and is then sent on to other post offices around the country. The same thing happens in San Francisco except that here we get all mail coming from the West or the Orient.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask just a couple of questions, please.

Is there any court case now pending in any of our high courts involving this question of construction of the present statute dealing with the labeling?

Mr. FISHMAN. No; there is nothing pending right at this moment.

Mr. DOYLE. If the foreign consuls and ambassadors in the United States representing Iron Curtain countries can receive all of this material they wish without limitation, then all they would have to do would be to mail it on to other cities.

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. And from the other cities—for instance, San Francisco, from the foreign consuls' staff in San Francisco—they could hire a bunch of clerks and pretty well plaster San Francisco with any material they want, whether it is labeled or not, couldn't they?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Our only control that we have referred to today is the control that they would have to label it so that recipients would know its source.

Mr. DOYLE. Whether or not it would be legal would be a question for the courts, I suppose, but would it be practical to insist that it be labeled in the foreign country before it first came to this country, and give the authority to our authorities to interpret whether or not it was labeled correctly?

Mr. FISHMAN. You would then effectively cut off 90 percent of this material because the foreign countries would never label it.

Mr. DOYLE. After all, we want to cut it off, do we not?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. You are not protesting it.

Mr. FISHMAN. We are not protesting it. I am merely saying that would be a very effective way of doing it, if we could, under the law. Because none of it—

Mr. SCHERER. Let me say this, Mr. Doyle. We want to cut it off if it is not properly labeled.

Mr. DOYLE. Certainly. If it is subversive material.

Why should we leave ourselves as a country in a position of paying much of the bill for distributing subversive material designed to overthrow our form of government? Why should we do that?

Mr. FISHMAN. That suggestion, incidentally, Mr. Chairman, was made by one of the other House committees at a hearing about 2 years ago.

Mr. DOYLE. Very good.

Are there any other questions, Mr. Velde?

Mr. VELDE. Of course, Mr. Doyle, I want to carry that out a little further.

I agree with you entirely, if there is any subversive material in here, it should not be allowed to get into the hands of any individuals.

But there is a lot of propaganda, merely information, that I think American citizens especially would be interested in, and it would be a good thing for them to read.

Mr. DOYLE. There is no question about it. It is information and it is an education to get a lot of material.

And counsel and members of the committee, may I say this:

I am sure I have and, no doubt, our office has, from the State Department, a comparison of the amount and estimated cost of propaganda which came into our Nation during 1955 from foreign countries.



as compared with the amount of propaganda that we disseminate in foreign countries.

Mr. ARENS. Those statistics are substantially as follows, Mr. Chairman: The Soviet Union and its satellites are spending an estimated \$3 billion a year on Communist foreign propaganda. They are spending in India alone at the present time an estimated \$400 million in Communist propaganda.

I should like also, Mr. Chairman, to just make a quick observation to Mr. Fishman.

We sent an investigator just the other day to a bookstore, or a publishing place here in the San Francisco Bay area, to buy some magazines, and he returned with four magazines, none of which is identified as Communist literature.

It will be the subject of further inquiry in the course of our stay here. But I would like to display these to Mr. Fishman while he is on the stand and ask him if each of these four magazines, to his certain knowledge, is Communist propaganda, and if it is foreign Communist propaganda.

Mr. DOYLE. Were those four magazines purchased right here?

Mr. ARENS. Right here in the bay area in a particular establishment. Just a spot check.

Mr. DOYLE. When were they purchased?

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Jones, when were they purchased?

Mr. JONES. On Friday of last week.

Mr. FISHMAN. We have consistently found these do contain political propaganda.

Mr. ARENS. Are they Communist?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. They emanate from the Communist-bloc countries?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Is there any indication on any of these magazines that they have been labeled as required by the law?

Mr. FISHMAN. No.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that each of these documents be appropriately marked and incorporated by reference in this record because we want to allude to them later on.

(Documents referred to are entitled "Soviet Union, People's Democracy," "Youth Forum of Political Organization of Society," "People's China," and "China Reconstructs"—marked "Fishman Exhibit No. 3," and retained in the committee files.)

Mr. DOYLE. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. VELDE. I would just like to ask this question:

Do you have any way of finding out how much Communist propaganda comes through first-class mail?

Mr. FISHMAN. It would be a very difficult estimate to make.

Under the joint regulations of the Post Office and Customs, we can, if we suspect the contents of a particular first-class piece of mail, ask the addressee to waive the privacy of the seal. And we have done that in many instances. Particularly during the time of that redefecation program.

Mr. VELDE. For instance, if the letter is addressed to a well-known American Communist you certainly would have the right to go into that, wouldn't you?

Mr. FISHMAN. We would ask him for permission to waive the privacy of the seal. If we found that that particular first-class piece of mail contained political propaganda or Communist propaganda we might then line up all of the similar material, with format the same and address the same, the way it was printed and so on and so forth, and then ask every one of those people for permission to open their material and withhold that kind of material from the mails.

Mr. VELDE. I thank you for your very fine testimony. It has certainly been intelligent and instructive to this committee, and you have been of service.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. I concur in the statements of my colleague.

Mr. DOYLE. And I, of course, concur gladly and cordially. We thank the chief and all of your associates.

May I ask you, if it is convenient, to send in to us as promptly as you can the study that you have said you are making, because we shall submit recommendations to the 85th Congress with a view to legislation as an outgrowth of these hearings across the country. And we would appreciate, therefore, getting your account as soon as we could.

Mr. FISHMAN. We certainly will.

Mr. DOYLE. So we can get it to the legislative committee for the 85th Congress.

Thank you very much.

The next witness?

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Stephen K. Louie.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Louie, do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LOUIE. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF STEPHEN K. LOUIE

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. LOUIE. I am Stephen K. Louie, a resident of San Francisco. I am employed as administrative assistant in charge of the restricted merchandise unit in San Francisco.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you lived in the San Francisco area, Mr. Louie?

Mr. LOUIE. For the past 15 years.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you born?

Mr. LOUIE. In San Francisco.

Mr. ARENS. Have you at any time of your life returned to China?

Mr. LOUIE. Yes. I lived in China for approximately 9 years.

Mr. ARENS. And then you returned to the United States?

Mr. LOUIE. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. In the course of your professional life, were you also employed at one time by the Immigration and Naturalization Service?

Mr. LOUIE. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity?

Mr. LOUIE. As an interpreter.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Louie, you have lived here a sufficient length of time and have had sufficient contact with the people of Chinese ancestry located in this community, I believe, to give us a fair estimate,

an appraisal of the effect of the Chinese-language papers on the local people, Chinese-Americans.

Can you give us an appraisal of that?

Mr. LOUIE. This is testimony on my personal opinion.

The majority of the Chinese people here have ancestry back in China. They read mostly Chinese-printed newspapers. They seldom read the English-printed newspapers in the bay area here or elsewhere. Therefore, when they receive propaganda material from China or Hong Kong they will believe that those materials are true, and they will follow the propagation from China or Hong Kong as the truth.

Mr. ARENS. Do you feel that there is a wide readership in the Chinese community here of the Communist Chinese propaganda which comes into the area?

Mr. LOUIE. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. I believe you gave an account of why, but I would like the record to be a little clearer on that.

Is the record clear as to why you feel there is a wide readership of this material?

Mr. LOUIE. Yes. I feel that just because most of the Chinese read the Chinese-printed newspapers or books or magazines, they will be affected by the propaganda printed in those publications.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have an illustration, Mr. Louie, of a returnee from here to China and the effect which he had or attempted to have upon the people of Red China? Do you have a particular illustration of that?

Mr. LOUIE. Yes. I have seen some evidence that a former resident of this country returned to China, and he wrote a letter to another Chinese in this country telling him the glorious life he is living in China and the working conditions back there.

Mr. SCHERER. I didn't understand. He told what?

Mr. LOUIE. About the glorious life and the working conditions.

Mr. ARENS. Have you seen letters in the course of your professional work for the Government from Chinese in China which have been published in various publications undertaking to influence attitudes and opinions of people in the United States?

Mr. LOUIE. Yes. I have.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us about them, please.

Mr. LOUIE. I have seen lots of reprints from letters purportedly written by Chinese in China or former residents of this country, or students who have returned to China from this country, and also articles from newspapers, or statements by persons such as Mao Tse-tung or Chou En-lai.

The head people, the chief of a town or a village would call a meeting in that particular area and pass out these reprints and urge the people there to send them to this country in the hope to get the Chinese people in this country to return to China.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any illustrations, Mr. Louie, of people who have been living in the United States but who have gone back to China and who have told the Chinese people that conditions in the United States are horrible plus the regular Communist line? Would you tell us about that?

I know we are having a little difficulty with one another because of a slight accent here.



Mr. LOUIE. I have translated letters or had letters translated under my supervision where things like this material, along this line, was sent over here.

Mr. ARENS. Could you summarize it, please, sir.

Mr. LOUIE. A letter here says: "Now let us talk about life"——

Mr. ARENS. Excuse me a moment. Who is writing the letter? Who is the author of the letter, and where is the person who is the author of the letter?

Mr. LOUIE. These are persons living in China, and sending to another person in this country.

Mr. ARENS. Did the person who is living in China who wrote that letter previously live in the United States?

Mr. LOUIE. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Proceed, if you please.

Mr. SCHERER. Pardon me. Without revealing this person's name, is there any indication that this individual was a member of the Communist Party, Mr. Arens? Or don't you know?

Mr. ARENS. I didn't catch that.

Mr. SCHERER. Without revealing the individual's name who wrote this letter that Mr. Louie wanted to tell us about, is there any indication that this individual was a Communist?

We know that Communists have gone back.

Mr. ARENS. Was this individual a Communist?

Mr. FISHMAN. Do we have any information on it?

Mr. LOUIE. No, I don't have any personal information.

Mr. ARENS. Perhaps we can tell from the content of the letter the essence of his position. Would you go ahead, please, sir.

Mr. LOUIE. I am reading from here.

First, we must offer our congratulations to the success of the revolution of our fatherland! Our country has not only defected all the military castes, officialdoms and feudalist powers, but also has swept away all the foreign imperialist oppressive powers. Our fatherland has stood up. No matter what rumors anyone has made, the following are ironical facts; and no one can deny them. In military matters, our volunteer army's fighting in Korea for justice has gotten an unimaginable victory. In foreign affairs, our country has gotten, both in Geneva and in Bandung, the fame of which no history of our country can compare.

Later on he says:

In recent years, the number of returned fellow countrymen who studied science in foreign lands is not small, but there are many who have not returned. Of course, their having not returned is not that they are unwilling to return, but is because they have certain fears. The things that I often heard are these: (1) they are afraid that they will have no freedom after their return; (2) they are afraid that the scientific research equipments in China are inferior so that the expansion of research works is hindered; (3) they are afraid that the livelihood in China is difficult or afraid that they might be discriminated against by others, etc. The situations in China are entirely different from these statements, which are rumors made by those who have hatred. I can briefly explain the situations to you. The rumor that there is no freedom is an entirely unfounded statement. The Government regards all scientists with esteem, especially now during the period of developing the field of science.

It then goes on and says:

Now, let us talk about livelihood. In a society where people are living in peace and are contented with their occupations, where farm products are harvested abundantly every year, where industries and commerce are flourishing, and where prices are stable, do you think in such situations a person with a



high education will have a difficult livelihood? A college professor can comfortably support the livelihood of 5 or 6 persons.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Louie, I suggest that you might just summarize the contents of those letters for us, if you could, please, in the interest of economy of time.

Mr. LOUIE. These letters I have translated along that line bring out the development, living conditions, etc., in China, and urge the people in this country to return to China.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Louie, you are, of course, I am sure, a loyal American, and I am sure the overwhelming majority of the Chinese-Americans are loyal Americans.

I should like to ask you if you could please tell us, on the basis of your affinity to the Chinese-American community, what should be done so that the Chinese-American who would be the recipient of the Red Chinese propaganda would know that what he is reading is Chinese Communist propaganda.

Mr. LOUIE. I believe that what the committee and Mr. Fishman discussed a while ago is the very good system to follow. Call to the attention of the people that that particular publication is propaganda material.

Mr. ARENS. Is there any other comment or any other area of activity or item that you want to bring to the attention of the committee?

Mr. LOUIE. In connection with the dissemination of the mail we have often found narcotics, attempted smuggling in the mail.

Mr. ARENS. Is there a narcotics problem here in addition to the problem of narcotics in the mails?

Mr. LOUIE. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And on the basis of your intensive experience in this enforcement field, is it true that the Red Chinese are undertaking to procure hard currency to run their war machinery via the sale of narcotics?

Mr. LOUIE. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Are they also undertaking to demoralize those people whom they can reach with these narcotics?

Mr. LOUIE. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any other observation you would like to make?

Mr. LOUIE. No, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Let me ask one question.

You said you lived in China for a number of years. When was it that you lived in China?

Mr. LOUIE. Between 1932 to 1941.

Mr. SCHERER. How old were you at that time?

Mr. LOUIE. From age 5 to the age of 15.

Mr. SCHERER. From the age of 5 to the age of 15?

Mr. LOUIE. Yes; that is right.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Velde?

Mr. VELDE. I have no questions.

Mr. DOYLE. I wish to say, in view to Mr. Louie's testimony, that when I was in Hong Kong, China, as a member of another committee of Congress, the Armed Services Committee, I was privileged to interview certain intelligence people who told me very definitely of this program of the residents of villages in China being compelled to adopt

as their letters back to the United States former letters which were provided by the Chinese Communist government, and that they were compelled to send these back to the United States under fear of harm if they didn't.

Another thing the intelligence told me in Hong Kong was that the Chinese Communist government had in Hong Kong a definite group of Chinese Communist government representatives whose sole job was to send and encourage the sending of communications back to the United States picturing the Communist government and life in China as very active in every way.

As Mr. Louie has said, they painted it as being glorious, misrepresented it to be glorious and fine instead of the actual terror and dictatorial government it actually was.

(Representative Gordon H. Scherer left the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. DOYLE. I thought I should make that statement here in supplement to Mr. Louie's statement because that is the information I received when I was in China.

Is there anything else, Mr. Velde?

Mr. VELDE. No.

Mr. DOYLE. Then this committee will stand in recess until 2 p. m.

(Whereupon, at 12:05 p. m., the committee was recessed, to be reconvened at 2 p. m., this same day. Committee members present: Representatives Doyle and Velde.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION—MONDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1956

(The committee was reconvened at 2:10 p. m. at the expiration of the recess. Committee members present: Representatives Doyle, Velde, and Scherer.)

Mr. DOYLE. The committee will please convene.

Let the record show that the subcommittee is here 100 percent—Mr. Velde, of Illinois, on my right, Mr. Scherer, of Ohio, on my left, and I, Doyle, of California, from Los Angeles County.

I think there is no doubt that some of the witnesses here this afternoon were not present this morning, and also some of the distinguished counsel for witnesses of this afternoon and tomorrow were not present in the courtroom this morning when I took occasion to call attention to the rules of this committee under which we are governed and under which we will govern our own hearings. And we are obligated to do so.

These rules, of course, are presumed to be known by distinguished counsel appearing with clients today and tomorrow, and the witnesses are supposed to have received copies thereof.

But, so as to save time and avoid having misunderstanding, I will read rule VII and the first paragraph of rule VIII:

At every hearing, public or executive, every witness shall be accorded the privilege of having counsel of his own choosing.

The participation of counsel during the course of any hearing and while the witness is testifying shall be limited to advising said witness as to his legal rights. Counsel shall not be permitted to engage in oral argument with the committee, but shall confine his activity to the area of legal advice to his client.

## Rule VIII:

Counsel for a witness shall conduct himself in a professional, ethical, and proper manner. His failure to do so shall, upon a finding to that effect by a majority of the committee or subcommittee before which the witness is appearing, subject such counsel to disciplinary action which may include warning, censure, removing from the hearing room of counsel, or a recommendation of contempt proceedings.

May I say in that connection that it just happens that we three members of this subcommittee all practiced law actively for many years before we first went to Congress.

I practiced law in California 30 years. And I know, therefore, that California counsel appearing for witnesses will expect to obey strictly the committee rules. And it will be very helpful if you will.

The other thing I wish to repeat from this morning is I have instructed the United States marshal that any manifestation of approval or disapproval by any person in the room will result automatically in that person being invited to leave because we do not want disapproval or approval expressed. That is fair, I am sure.

Are you ready, Mr. Arens?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir. Mr. John Caldwell, would you kindly come forward. Would you please remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CALDWELL. I do.

Mr. DOYLE. Be seated in the witness chair, please.

## TESTIMONY OF JOHN C. CALDWELL

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. CALDWELL. John Caldwell, Nashville, Tenn., a lecturer and writer.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you born, Mr. Caldwell?

Mr. CALDWELL. In southern China.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you live in China?

Mr. CALDWELL. Eighteen years as a child and a number of years since, and many trips to and from China.

Mr. ARENS. Your father was a missionary in China?

Mr. CALDWELL. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Caldwell, over the course of the last several years have you devoted your energies and attentions principally to the Chinese Communist operations and to communism in the Far East?

Mr. CALDWELL. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. And in the course of the last several weeks have you taken a trip to the Far East?

Mr. CALDWELL. Yes. I returned a little over 2 weeks ago from a trip to Formosa, Hong Kong, Bangkok, Cambodia.

Mr. ARENS. And that trip was pursuant to your interest as a student of international communism in the Far East?

Mr. CALDWELL. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Caldwell, I would like to ask you, first of all, this general question:

What is the essence of the Communist propaganda campaign in the Far East?

Mr. CALDWELL. During the past year, particularly, there has been a tremendously increased Communist propaganda campaign directed toward specific groups and specific nations. And the general tenor of this campaign is a desire to create a spirit of neutrality among the countries of southeast Asia to stop criticism of China and to gain acceptance for Red China's hope for U. N. membership.

Mr. ARENS. Is this propaganda campaign directed against specific segments of a population and specific nations?

Mr. CALDWELL. Yes; it is.

There are actually different types of campaigns directed at different nations. It is a little hard to generalize, but there are two main campaigns going on in southeast Asia. One is directed against the Buddhist bloc of nations. And right now that campaign is probably more intense than the other, which is directed against the British colonies of southeast Asia.

They are different types of propaganda. One, you might say, is softer than the other. And within these countries, though, whether they are British colonies or the Buddhist nations, it is the overseas Chinese segment of the population that is receiving the greatest propaganda attention.

Mr. ARENS. What is the volume or the intensity of this propaganda? Could you tell us that.

Mr. CALDWELL. Yes; I can.

Could I use some exhibits I have arranged here?

Mr. ARENS. Please do.

I would suggest, if you please, Mr. Caldwell, that as you begin to use an exhibit you describe it for the purpose of this record so that when the record is printed, it will be clear as to just what you have been alluding.

Mr. CALDWELL. I have here two very simple cardboard charts, one describing the campaign against the British colonial possessions, the other against the Buddhist nations.

I want to speak first about this campaign against the three primary Buddhist nations because I think it is extremely intense at the present time with a tremendous amount of money devoted to it. And it is also quite successful.

I might use the pointer here and explain that I mean this bloc of nations right here [indicating] Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos.



# CALDWELL EXHIBITS Nos. 1 AND 2

## *Communism in southeast Asia*

	Education	Newspapers	Publications	Miscellaneous
<b>Cambodia</b> Population 4,500,000 (350,000 Chinese). Neutralist government with semirecognition of both Free and Red China. 40 percent of Chinese considered pro-Communist; 25 percent pro-Nationalist. <b>Laos</b> Population estimated at 2,000,000. Only a few thousand Chinese.	300 Chinese students to Red China in 1955; 34 to Free China. 160 Chinese schools heavily infiltrated.  Almost totally illiterate.	4 of 5 Chinese newspapers are pro-Red or neutralist, bought with gifts of newspaper or bribery of editors. Cambodian press is neutral or pro-Red.  No newspapers, no printing press in country.	40 new bookstores opened in last few months, all but 1 Communist operated. Country flooded with Red Chinese publications. Bookstores considered front for Red operations.  Many Communist publications with probability that book stores are Red fronts.	Red Chinese aid program totaling \$22 million offered and accepted; 120 Red technicians arriving. Local Communists reputed to be receiving aid and direction from Poland.  Neutralist, but has sent delegation to Peking. Communists thought to have offered aid program. Country receiving large United States aid. United States has large propaganda program but newspapers becoming increasingly anti-American. Communists using films for propaganda purposes.
<b>Thailand</b> Population 20,000,000 (4,000,000 Chinese). Communist Party outlawed. Recognizes Nationalist China.	200 Chinese schools (those in South Thailand heavily infiltrated). Many illegal schools sponsored by Reds. 200 Chinese students to Red China in 1956.	27 newspapers, including 5 Chinese. 4 of Chinese papers are pro-Red, nearly all papers anti-American.	Greatly increased flow of Communist publications in 1956.	Reds have bought control of 2 motion picture studios, control Hong Kong Chamber of Commerce.  Reds have stranglehold on labor.
<b>Hong Kong</b> Population 3,000,000 (99 percent Chinese). Most Chinese still anti-Communist, but tide is swinging to Reds. <b>Singapore</b> Population 1,200,000 (80 percent Chinese). Most are pro-Red. Communist activities are illegal but widespread. <b>Malaya</b> Population 6,000,000 (almost half Chinese). Still is sporadic guerrilla warfare.	600 private Chinese schools—increasing Red infiltration; 800 students to Red China in 1955, a drop from 1953.  Reds are in control of schools; 70 percent of schools are privately maintained, therefore easily infiltrated.  1,200 students to Red China in 1955; 1/4 of Chinese schools Red controlled with influence growing.	10 major newspapers: 4 pro-Red, circulation 150,000; 3 neutral, circulation 145,000; 3 anti-Red, circulation 50,000; widespread bribery and gifts of newspaper. 2 of 3 major newspapers are pro-Red.  -----	Numerous book stores selling Communist publications.  Publications from Red China smuggled in from Hong Kong.  Communist publications smuggled in.	Large trade delegation sent to Red China in late 1955; initial trade agreement for 5,000,000 pounds.

Mr. ARENS. From the standpoint of describing the geographical location of those nations, for our record, tell us what is their physical location with reference to Red China.

Mr. CALDWELL. Laos has a common border with Red China. You might say that they are directly south of the Red Chinese border.

Now these nations are, in the case of two of them, newly independent. They are very nationalistic, and the Communists are working on trying to keep them neutral.

They are utilizing three main methods of propaganda: Education—primarily infiltration of the Chinese schools, of which south of Hong Kong there are over 2,000.

They use newspapers through a massive campaign of actual bribery where they will bribe an editor either through an outright gift of money or through gifts of newsprint to change his editorial line.

They use publications, some of the ones the committee saw this morning, but many entirely different ones, some of which I have brought to show you.

And in certain nations they are using economic penetration, actual economic aid of a type that very closely parallels our ICA program.

Mr. ARENS. May I just interject this question so the record is clear: You are very fluent in the language of the Far East, are you not? Principally in Chinese?

Mr. CALDWELL. I speak Chinese: yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. And you read it and—

Mr. CALDWELL. I read it, but very little. There is quite a difference between reading it and speaking.

Mr. ARENS. Your testimony today is based upon extensive interviews which you had?

Mr. CALDWELL. Three trips during this past year.

Now Cambodia is a small nation of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  million people. That will serve to illustrate, I think, the methods used and the intensity of the campaign.

There are 350,000 Chinese in Cambodia, and, even though that is less than 10 percent of the population, those Chinese control business, they control banks, and the best newspapers. Those Chinese have a total of 160 schools. They have within the last year become heavily infiltrated with Communist teachers. So that it is the estimate today that over two-thirds of the teaching staffs of those schools are either actual party members or are sent by the party.

An illustration of the success is the fact that this past year 300 Chinese students went from Cambodia to study in Red China, while only 34 went to Free China or Formosa, a ratio of about 10 to 1.

Within the past year—and most of these things I speak of have happened in 12 months or less—4 of 5 Chinese newspapers have become either neutralist or actually pro-Red. They have been bought either by outright bribes to the editors or with gifts of newsprint, which is another common form of bribery the Reds are using.

In publications, within the past year and mostly within the past 3 months, 40 new bookstores have been opened in Cambodia. Now, of these 40, 39 are Communist bookstores, and one is anti-Communist.

I will come back to the publications in a minute.

Finally, in Cambodia the Reds have offered a \$22 million economic aid program that is very similar to what we do through ICA.

So you see there the four methods: Education, newspapers, publications, and economic penetration.

Mr. ARENS. May I interject this question:

Of what significance is Cambodia to the world picture of the international Communist conspiracy?

I would speculate—and I am not trying to be at all facetious—that the average American has rarely heard of Cambodia.

Mr. CALDWELL. You are correct.

Mr. ARENS. What is the significance of it?

Mr. CALDWELL. It is important for this reason. It is one of the three Buddhist nations of the area. It is the most vulnerable because it is weak. It has a new government; it is newly independent, and the reason the Communists—and this is my personal opinion—are emphasizing Cambodia is because through it they hope to reach Thailand, which is an ally of this country, is a much larger nation and is a member of the SEATO.

Mr. ARENS. "This country" meaning the United States?

Mr. CALDWELL. Yes. Thailand is a member of SEATO. It has 20 million people. It is much more powerful and important in southeast Asia than Cambodia. But Cambodia and, to a lesser degree, Laos are being used as an entree through the Buddhist bloc to the control of Thailand.

Now this morning you gentlemen saw some of the publications that are coming into this country.

In the bookstores of Bangkok and Cambodia I picked up this assortment of publications, some of them hard books and all of them dealing with China in what I would call a soft manner. There is very little anti-American propaganda in the publications you find in Southeast Asia. There is only occasional reference to what the Communists like to call the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek. Mostly these are very clever attempts to show Red China as a utopia, as a country that is peaceful minded, that deserves membership in the United Nations, a country that deserves the investment of southeast Asia capital. And southeast Asia is a rich area.

Mr. ARENS. What would be the effect if Red China were admitted to the United Nations from the standpoint of the impact upon Asia?

Mr. CALDWELL. I think it would be a very drastic effect.

Already throughout southeast Asia you will find more people who are, let us say, interested in Red China than are against Red China. Many others are sitting on the fence waiting to see what is going to happen.

Mr. ARENS. When you say drastic what do you mean? If Red China tomorrow were admitted into the United Nations and the United States should recognize Red China as a legitimate, bona fide government what would be the impact in Asia?

Mr. CALDWELL. The first immediate impact would be that your 12½ million overseas Chinese, who in some cases make up the majority of the population, would go for Red China. They control the economic life of the whole area.

It would mean, very simply, the loss of all southeast Asia.

Mr. SCHERER. Doesn't the witness want to sit down?

Mr. CALDWELL. Thank you.

Now one very interesting thing about these publications is that they are sold, but price is obviously not at all important because in every



case I was able to jew the seller down. And you can get them at ridiculously low prices.

This hard book on water conservancy in New China, beautifully illustrated, cost me the equivalent of 28 cents. The asking price was 50 cents, but I had no difficulty whatsoever in getting the price down.

Some of the smaller publications which seek mostly to show China as a cultured nation can be gotten for at little as 2 or 3 cents.

Now I have here perhaps 7 or 8 out of the over 500, I would judge, publications that are available that are simply inundating this Buddhist bloc of countries. They are sold. But if they can't be sold they are given away. And in influence I am afraid they far outweigh anything our side is able to do.

Mr. ARENS. Now is this propaganda accompanied by any other tactic in order to accomplish the objective of the Soviets?

Mr. CALDWELL. Yes. It differs somewhat in the areas controlled by the British, the British colonial areas. I include there Hong Kong, Malaya, Singapore, and Borneo.

In these areas which are primarily either Chinese or Moslem in religion there is much more terrorism. There is very little effort at terrorism—

Mr. ARENS. What part does terrorism play in Red tactics in Asia?

Mr. CALDWELL. It plays a very large part, particularly in Singapore, let us say, or Malaya where people who do not cooperate are frequently murdered.

As an example, the infiltration of the schools of this area has become so complete that it is possible for the high-school student to demand the dismissal of a teacher or a principal. And when principals who are anti-Communist do not knuckle down to the students there have been so many cases of acid throwing in the faces of the principals and the teachers that the British authorities have now made the mere possession of sulfuric acid punishable with 10 years in prison.

Mr. ARENS. How many people are yet to be wooed into the Communist bloc in Asia?

Mr. CALDWELL. It is a little dangerous to give percentages, but I can give the guess of well-informed people.

Cambodia is a pretty good example. Most of the people, our American intelligence people, would figure that 40 percent of the people of Cambodia are now pro-Communist, 25 percent anti-Communist, and the balance are sitting on the fence waiting to see—

Mr. ARENS. How many people in the aggregate are there in Asia who have not as yet actually been enmeshed in the grip of communism irrespective of their individual views?

Mr. CALDWELL. Not counting India but just Southeast Asia, the population is 160 million, slightly less than that of America.

Mr. ARENS. How late is it on the Soviet timetable of chronology in taking over the remaining population of Asia that has not been already enmeshed in the grip of the international Communist conspiracy?

Mr. CALDWELL. How late is it on the timetable?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. CALDWELL. I would say the timetable is very well advanced.

You can go from Indonesia north and there are very few areas where the Communist sympathizers, either through fear or through



the effective propaganda, do not outnumber those who are anti-Communist.

Mr. ARENS. Are we—and by “we” I mean the forces of freedom in the world—winning or are we losing in Asia?

Mr. CALDWELL. I think an honest answer is that presently we are losing. I think I can illustrate that with this one story.

During the last year this control of the press that I have mentioned through bribery has become so complete that all through the last part of October and November, at the time the Egyptian and the Hungarian crises were both on, I did not see a single feature front-page story on Hungary in any newspaper in southeast Asia. I saw innumerable stories about Egypt, stories of alleged British atrocity.

In other words, the control is so great that the Hungarian revolution, which was propagandawise, I felt, something handed to us on a platter, was largely lost in that part of the world because the people can't know about it.

Mr. ARENS. You mentioned schools and education a little while ago, Mr. Caldwell.

What success do the Chinese Communists have in persuading students from Southeast Asia to go to Red China?

Mr. CALDWELL. Since 1950 between 40,000 and 50,000 have gone to Red China. You have to give a round figure like that because many have gone without proper permits, exit permits from their native lands.

The number is decreasing. During 1956 an estimated 3,900 will go, whereas 4 or 5 years ago it would have been between 7,000 and 8,000.

Mr. ARENS. How many students go to Formosa—that is, Free China—compared to Communist China?

Mr. CALDWELL. This year there will be 2,200 students in Free China, and 3,900 in Red China.

But even a year ago the proportion was much changed. In other words, this is the only place, I think, where we are having a minor victory. Less students are going to Red China and more are going to Formosa.

Mr. ARENS. You spent some time in Formosa during the course of your last trip a few weeks ago. Is that correct?

Mr. CALDWELL. Yes; I did.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have occasion to learn of the reverse brainwashing tactic that is used by the Free China Government with reference to Communists who come within their purview?

Mr. CALDWELL. Yes. I can report something on it.

There is an idea current in this country that any Communist who comes into the hands of the Free Chinese is immediately executed. But that is far from the truth.

There is, on an island off the eastern coast of Formosa, a special camp for such people. In some cases they are captured Communist soldiers, and in some cases they are local Communist agents that have been found out.

I believe at the present time there are something like between 3,000 and 10,000 on this island where they receive, as you put it, a reverse course of brain washing until it is considered it is safe for them to go back to Formosa and become a part of society, to take jobs, and many of them do go back and get into good jobs.

Mr. ARENS. What part does trade and economic aid play in the Communist strategy to capture Asia?

Mr. CALDWELL. Trade and economic aid are both relatively new methods. I mentioned that the Red Chinese have just offered Cambodia a \$22 million aid program. We are currently giving Cambodia \$40 million annually. But their \$22 million will go probably twice as far as our \$40 million simply because they will not have to pay as high salaries, and they won't have to have as much red tape involved.

For instance, they are moving in 120 technicians this month to add——

Mr. SCHERER. You mean red tape in administration of the program?

Mr. CALDWELL. Red tape of our making, yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. How long have you been back from this last trip?

Mr. CALDWELL. Not quite 3 weeks.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you given the information you are giving to us to anyone in the State Department?

Mr. CALDWELL. No, sir; I have not. This is my first time.

In addition to this economic aid, which in the case of small neutral nations like Cambodia and Laos may be very effective, the Reds are pushing a campaign of trade. They have just signed a £5-million trade agreement with the Strait Settlements.

A trade mission from the little kingdom of Laos, which is directly south of the China border, has just been to Peking and has come back. They are, for instance, offering consumer goods—bicycles is an excellent example—which are in great need in Southeast Asia and which their own people do not have, and at very, very low prices.

So trade, economic aid are definitely weapons, but weapons that are just now coming into use in their campaign.

Mr. ARENS. Don't the trade agreements also provide that the Communist agents may have access to the country with which the trade agreement has been consummated?

Mr. CALDWELL. That is correct, yes.

There are rather large aid missions.

There is one other point in the Communist methods I think I should mention because I think it is rather interesting, and that is the gateways that they use in funneling this material, the publications, newspapers, their agents into Southeast Asia.

Hong Kong, of course, is the major gateway. That is where most of the Communist agents make headquarters.

Mr. VELDE. Point out the other British protectorates.

Mr. CALDWELL. North Borneo which is an area the Reds have just moved into in the last 6 months. In 6 months' time they have virtually gotten control of the schools, the Chinese schools of North Borneo.

Singapore, which is right at the end of the Malay Peninsula, the Federated Malay States and Hong Kong.

Mr. SCHERER. When you say they have virtually gotten control of north Borneo, you mean the Communists have?

Mr. CALDWELL. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Are these native Communists of Borneo or people who have infiltrated?

Mr. CALDWELL. They are agents from Hong Kong, all Chinese. Their major effort is in the Chinese schools, which are the best schools of the area.

Mr. SCHERER. How did they infiltrate the schools if they are from out of the country?

Mr. CALDWELL. The regulations regarding entry of people are not very carefully kept in that part of the world. As far as Malaya is concerned, the British allow Chinese to go to and from China if they wish. They can come in almost in any number, plus the fact that you have these common frontiers up here, an extremely rugged country. You have a large number of agents crossing the borders illegally.

Now the way they operate—when I say take over a school, is to enroll overage students, bully boys you might call them, between 24 and 30 years of age, perhaps a half dozen in one school. They play upon the legitimate interests of these overseas Chinese in a strong China. They play on the fact that the Chinese are often not treated too well by the British and the other people under whom they live.

They circulate these beautiful publications—Children of China, for instance—showing the wonders of the new China. Pretty soon they begin to get discussion groups organized, and before long they are able to control a sufficient number of the student body to decide when they are going to demonstrate and to levy dues.

In Singapore this last year they collected \$110,000 (U. S.) in dues from the high school students. This money was then used to foment strikes in the city, and was tied in with the Red control of labor.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Caldwell, have you had an opportunity in the course of this last trip to interview escapees from Red China, and, if so, what did they tell of conditions as compared to the story which we see here in this beautifully prepared book?

Mr. CALDWELL. Yes, sir, I did.

During the past year and particularly since June there have been a large number of students who have escaped from Red China. These are the same students who went to Red China at the invitation of the Chinese Government from Indonesia, Singapore, Thailand, all over southeast Asia.

I interviewed 11 of these escaped students personally, and read the transcripts of interviews they had given—80 others—to United States agencies.

The story these students tell is certainly at variance with the story told by the publications. Although they were invited to Red China for an education, promised free tuition and board, the school of their choice, they found when they arrived that they had to pay their own way. They discovered that most of them had been invited because they came from wealthy southeast Asian families and could be forced, the Reds thought, to write home for remittances.

In other words, foreign exchange was the basis of their invitation.

But also they discovered that they were not allowed to go to a school of their choice or any school. Instead, they had to go into 1 of 3 large special brainwashing schools the Reds have set up. They are known as makeup schools where all foreign students go through a period that may last as long as 2 years of brainwashing before they are considered politically safe to mix with the regular mainland students. Those who prove recalcitrant are sent to an institution in south China near Canton that is called the Overseas Student Brain Improvement Center in which there are currently 4,000 recalcitrant



students who are receiving special brainwashing. If they still don't knuckle under—

Mr. SCHERER. 4,000 students from outside Red China?

Mr. CALDWELL. All from outside Red China. And the current enrollment of the 3 makeup schools in 1956 is 10,000.

If they still are difficult to get along with, if they don't knuckle under to Communist pressure, they are sent to what the Chinese students call a roaming hard-labor camp.

I talked to one student who had been sentenced to one of these camps in which there were 6,000 high-school students, not all of them from the mainland by any sense—I mean from overseas. I mean some of them mainland students; 6,000 high-school kids who had refused to knuckle under and were sent to the labor camp as punishment.

Mr. SCHERER. Must these out-of-country, so-called exchange students, attend these camps under pressure?

Mr. CALDWELL. They have no choice. They are immediately put into a makeup school.

Mr. SCHERER. That is, they have no choice of going back to the country from which they came?

Mr. CALDWELL. Not at first. Supposedly they can leave China any time they wish.

Now the Chinese have been forced to let a number out simply because so many thousands are clamoring to get out. And they are caught on the horns of a dilemma. They either have to let these students out, some of them, or they have to take the chance that the students will write letters back to southeast Asia and tell what actual conditions are.

These students, many of them, traveled all over Red China, being shifted from one brainwashing school to the other. They had a chance to see what living conditions are like. And from 8 different students who were in different parts of China I got this 1 significant figure which will give an idea of the problem of living for the common Chinese.

The rice ration—and practically everything is rationed—varied from 11 catties—a catty is a little less than a pound and a third—to 15 catties a month, depending on whether you are a farmer or a laborer or an office worker.

It is generally considered among Chinese that the minimum requirement for life is 1 cattie per day. So that the maximum ration in China per day, except for party workers and party members, is exactly one-half what most Chinese consider a minimum for a healthy life.

Mr. ARENS. How many people have been murdered by the Communist regime in Red China in the course of this ascendancy to power?

Mr. CALDWELL. The best estimate, a combination of many estimates, is 25 million. And at the present time there are thought to be something like 30 million people in some kind of enforced labor camp, brainwashing school or similar institution.

Mr. ARENS. Does Formosa, the free Government of Formosa, have any counteracting activities in southeast Asia?

Mr. CALDWELL. Yes. But they are faced with a difficult problem. They have no representation in British areas because Britain has recognized Red China. So free China cannot operate openly in Malaya, Borneo, or in Singapore.



Thailand recognizes free China, and they can operate there. Cambodia and Laos are neutral. They manage to recognize both Red China and free China.

But the feeling of the people there is generally antifree China, and they have a rather difficult time. Even in Hong Kong, which is a complete Chinese city of 3 million people, the free Chinese cannot operate openly or legally.

Mr. ARENS. What is your evaluation of the ideological offensive by the United States, our programs in the Far East?

Mr. CALDWELL. I don't think we can say we are too successful.

Bangkok in Thailand, one of our allies, is a city in which there are something like 27 newspapers. And all but two of those newspapers are generally anti-American, utilizing anything possible they can to degrade America.

Incidentally, one of the common things is to use Confidential magazine, to reprint articles from Confidential magazine. You will find them all over southeast Asia today, stories about divorce, sex, anything that the Reds can get hold of in Confidential that fits the picture of a corrupt America you will find in these papers.

Mr. ARENS. What can the United States or what, in your judgment, should the United States and/or free China do that is not being done in Asia in order that it may still continue to be, so far as possible, within the bloc of the free nations?

Mr. CALDWELL. I think the main target, as far as we are concerned, should be, as it is with the Chinese Reds, the overseas Chinese, the 12½ million Chinese who live in southeast Asia.

As I have mentioned earlier, they are the main economic factor. They control the economic life.

Now these Chinese have to have a China to look to. The old people want to be buried in China. Traditionally they have gone back to die.

Right now, because of the Communist control of the press, the schools, publications, the overseas Chinese can only know of one China, and that is Red China.

But I think there are ways in which we can, working with free China, get the story of free China over to them. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. May I interrupt just a minute.

Is there any estimate of the percentage of Chinese in Red China today who are actually Communists?

We know that in Russia only about 14 percent, and in Poland only about 4 percent of the people are Communists.

Mr. CALDWELL. The figure generally given, at least free Chinese intelligence figure, is that 85 percent of the people are anti-Communist. I have gotten that same figure from numerous escapees I have talked to. That leaves 15 percent of the population that are either going along with the Government for a ride or are actually Communists.

Mr. ARENS. In other words, there is a fallacy in undertaking to appraise the strength of the Communist conspiracy on the basis of the numerical strength of the party. Isn't that correct?

Mr. CALDWELL. That is absolutely true.

The party in China, I believe, has only 8 million members. But I could be wrong on that figure.

Mr. SCHERER. We know, but for the record how is it that 15 percent can control the 85 percent?

Mr. CALDWELL. Well, it is through the most massive police state that probably the world has ever seen, a more massive one than even Russia has. The control is so tight that in China today you cannot spend one night away from your home without a permit from the police. In other words, it is possible to keep absolute tabs on practically everybody all the time.

Mr. SCHERER. We find that same thing existing in practically all of the satellite countries.

As I pointed out, the evidence before the committee is that only 4 percent of the Polish people are Communists, and only 3 and 4 percent of the population of some of the other satellite countries are Communists.

So you have a similar situation in China.

Mr. CALDWELL. Very similar in China. And in China I think perhaps even less of the people are sympathetic to communism than in some of the European satellites.

Mr. SCHERER. The story is the same in all of the satellite countries.

Mr. CALDWELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Namely, police control.

Mr. CALDWELL. Police control.

Could I return, sir, to what we could do?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. CALDWELL. I think there are many things we can do to appeal to this large overseas population.

I went into a library, the National Library of Cambodia in the capital city of Pnompenh, and I found all of these publications on all of the reading tables available in large numbers. And the only American publications I found in that library was an August 1954, issue of Newsweek and the May 1955, issue of Time. In other words, there was nothing on the free world side except two ancient American magazines.

Mr. ARENS. Generally they wouldn't read English publications anyway.

Mr. CALDWELL. They wouldn't read English publications anyway.

Mr. SCHERER. What do we use that \$40 million for over there?

Mr. CALDWELL. That is entirely for economic aid.

Mr. SCHERER. None of it for propaganda?

Mr. CALDWELL. We have also a USIA program over there. We have 12 Americans.

It is very easy to criticize USIA. I think we should realize it has a difficult job. In Cambodia I don't think it is doing a job at all. In some other places it is effective. But we certainly can produce publications ourselves in the local languages.

As a matter of fact, one agency of our Government—the ICA—is doing something about it. That is the International Cooperation Administration. They are producing, in Chinese, material for the Chinese schools of Southeast Asia. But there simply is not enough of it. There is a tremendous need, for instance, of a few documentary films on free China which has had quite a renaissance for use with Chinese sound tracks in southeast Asia.

Mr. ARENS. You saw a number of films of the Communists?

Mr. CALDWELL. The Communists have excellent films.

Mr. ARENS. Did you see any films of the Communists of the lewd variety? I believe you mentioned that to me in our informal conversation this afternoon.

Mr. CALDWELL. That is another facet of their campaign. They have made the city of Bangkok into the dirty movie capital of the world, with an estimated production last year of 4,000 titles.

Now these are shipped all through the Far East. I would judge you can say it sort of parallels the use of narcotics as a method of breaking down the moral fiber of people.

Now I was able to get myself into one of the studios that make the movies, and was interested to notice that their equipment was the latest. Or I presume it must have been very late model Russian projection and motion-picture equipment.

I asked them if Communist money was involved in the industry, and I was told yes, but not to what degree.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Caldwell, since you mentioned narcotics, does Red China use narcotics, as far as these countries you talk about are concerned, for Communist purposes?

Mr. CALDWELL. Yes. The use of opium particularly is widespread. So widespread that in Borneo, in Thailand, you can buy it almost like you can buy aspirin.

Mr. VELDE. But it is used mostly to get money for the use of Red China?

Mr. CALDWELL. It is used, yes, as an instrument of foreign policy to obtain foreign exchange. It is widespread.

Mr. SCHERER. Is the source of the narcotics Red China?

Mr. CALDWELL. I don't know whether it is wholly Red China or not.

A great deal of opium is made in the far northwest of China. So that it is brought in, into Hong Kong, across the common borders. There is a great deal of it. But whether it is all of Chinese origin, I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Caldwell, I have in my hand a couple of the numerous publications which were identified earlier this morning as circulating in the United States from Red China.

One of them here is People's China, February 1956, and, another, China Reconstructs, 1956.

Take a glance at those, if you would, please, sir, and tell the committee whether or not you have seen those publications or comparable publications in the Far East.

Mr. CALDWELL. I have seen People's China on sale in Hong Kong. I have not seen China Reconstructs. This is the only publication, I think, you had this morning that I had seen in general use in the Far East.

Might I mention there are two other ways that Communist propaganda gets in that I think would be of interest to the committee.

As a result of the Indochina truce in 1954 there is a commission called the International Control Commission, made up of Poles, Indians, and Canadians, to enforce the Geneva Agreement. And until recently the Polish members of that Control Commission have acted as the main front for getting all of the propaganda into both Cambodia and Laos.

I have gotten that information from several sources. The Poles have actually—in order to avoid connections with China—have actually had their instructions, their materials come from Warsaw in a



roundabout way rather than from China, so close. That has been a very important source of infiltration.

There is a third place through which a great deal of material is coming today, and that is the border of India and Tibet near the city of Kalimpong where there has been for many years a Chinese school, a very large Chinese school which the Reds took over through diplomacy, which they don't very often use.

They merely told Mr. Nehru's government that, since he recognized Red China, they ought to control that school, and demanded the right to dismiss all the staff, appointed a new staff, a new headmaster, a new board of trustees.

That school of Kalimpong, which is located right about there [indicating], has become a center of Communist intrigue into India and on into Burma and throughout that part of southern Asia.

So you might say there are three gateways through which the material goes.

Mr. DOYLE. Is that school located in India?

Mr. CALDWELL. It is India about 12 miles from the border of Tibet.

Mr. SCHERER. How long did you say you lived in China?

Mr. CALDWELL. Well, off and on I suppose about 22 or 23 years.

Mr. SCHERER. Any particular part of China?

Mr. CALDWELL. Mostly south China, but also Shanghai, Nanking and Chungking. I fairly well have covered China.

Mr. DOYLE. What would you say was the average age of the students you interviewed, those eight, for instance?

Mr. CALDWELL. Most of them are in their 'teens, their late 'teens. They were either graduates of what is called middle school—equivalent to our high school—or were sophomores or juniors in high school.

I talked to one who was 34 years old who had gone to China in the hopes of having a vocational education, and one 31 years old who was a teacher. The rest were all under 20.

Mr. DOYLE. Were they all male or were any of them female?

Mr. CALDWELL. All that I talked to were male. But there have been a number of girls. Perhaps 5 or 10 percent of the total that go each year are girls.

Mr. DOYLE. Did any subversive propaganda for or against the United States of America come to your attention from this portion of the world in the form of printed matter or correspondence?

Mr. CALDWELL. Most of the material I have here is in English, and is very well prepared.

It is interesting to me that this material did not seem to be included among the exhibits of the customs people this morning. But this material is in English. It certainly would seem to be of a type that could be of value to them in this country.

It is also, incidentally, in other languages, too. They are using 10 different languages in southeast Asia. But I have no direct knowledge of this material coming in. I presume it does come in some degree from Hong Kong.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Caldwell, I have asked you a number of questions now covering a wide variety of subjects, all within the general area of Communist propaganda.

Are there any items of information you would like to submit to the committee which have not been a subject of my questions?



Mr. SCHERER. I might make a comment on your last question, Mr. Counsel.

I have before me a book which I have read halfway through, entitled "Communism in Our World," of which the witness here today is the author, just published in the last few days by John Day. And, from what I have read, it is an excellent treatise.

Mr. CALDWELL. I would like to emphasize, Mr. Arens, that during this past year, particularly the past few months while attention of our country and most of the world has largely been focused on the Middle East, the Communists are making tremendous headways in southeast Asia, and that we are doing relatively little to combat it.

Now it is a very rich area: 160 million people; 90 percent of the world's rubber production, natural rubber; a third of the world's tin; and particularly important to China is the rice surplus of southeast Asia.

Most of the progress that they have made actually, you can pinpoint it to within the last 6 months.

I would just like to tell you in conclusion what they have been able to do in Hong Kong, which is a British city with a large British garrison, a place visited by many Americans.

There are in that city 10 major newspapers. A year ago 2 of those newspapers were Communist; 2 or 3 you could consider neutralist. In other words, they neither criticized Red China nor America. And the rest were staunchly anti-Communist.

Now, as of the middle of November, the newspaper lineup in less than a year actually, of that city runs like this: Communist now—4 papers with a total circulation of 148,000; neutralist—4 papers with a total circulation of 145,000; and only 3 papers out of 10 remain anti-Communist with a total circulation of 50,000.

Now that means, as I pointed out before, that the people are beginning to live in a vacuum. They cannot know the truth of what happens, for instance, in Hungary. They cannot know the truth of what is happening in this country.

I think there are things we can do to counteract it. We must do more in publications. Not in English but in native languages.

We certainly can produce documentary motion pictures.

We must make the Chinese of the area realize there is another China that they can look to, the China that is our ally, and that, of course, is free China.

Mr. ARENS. I have no further questions of this witness, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Velde?

Mr. VELDE. I don't think I have any questions right now. I haven't been fortunate enough to read even part of Mr. Caldwell's book, but I will certainly make it a point to do so.

I just want to compliment Mr. Caldwell on his very fine efforts here before this committee. I am sure they will be very helpful in the furtherance of the duties of the committee.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Scherer, any questions or comments?

Mr. SCHERER. Are there any arrangements made for you to discuss your findings, as a result of your recent trip, with the State Department or any other agency of the executive branch of Government?

Mr. CALDWELL. No, sir; not at this date.

Mr. SCHERER. I have nothing further.

Mr. VELDE. By the way, isn't Cambodia a French protectorate?

Mr. CALDWELL. It was. The French maintain—it is no longer called the High Commissioner, but something of that type. But it is an independent nation now, and sets its own course. It was 1 of the 3 Indochinese States.

Mr. VELDE. Are there very many French citizens there?

Mr. CALDWELL. Yes, quite a few. And I would judge—I think I was told there are something like 2,000 French left in the capital city. That is quite a reduction from what it used to be, but still a sizable number.

Mr. DOYLE. I think it appropriate for me to comment at this time, at the conclusion of this very valuable testimony which we appreciate receiving at this hearing, that probably most of you folks do not know that under Public Law 601, which was enacted by the 79th Congress in 1946, rules 10 and 11 contained in that law have been reenacted by every Congress since 1946.

And in that instruction to this committee—the House Un-American Activities Committee—we have the obligation of studying the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instituted from foreign countries as well as domestic.

That might explain why we are taking time to hear this valuable witness treat briefly this subject of propaganda which is getting into that part of the world in the English language as he has testified and on which we had testimony this morning.

Propaganda is coming especially from Communist China. So it would seem very appropriate that this committee be thus informed by Mr. Caldwell and, by us, the Congress in January.

Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. Before we excuse Mr. Caldwell, I do not recall whether or not counsel at the beginning of Mr. Caldwell's testimony asked him for his educational background.

Mr. CALDWELL. No, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Would you please give us that.

Mr. CALDWELL. Like most Americans born in China, I was educated through high school in American schools or by my mother in China. I am a graduate of Vanderbilt University with graduate work in education at the University of Tennessee.

Mr. SCHERER. Thank you.

Mr. DOYLE. Any other questions, gentlemen?

Thank you very much again, Mr. Caldwell. And good luck to you in your travels.

The committee will stand in recess for 5 minutes at this point.

(Whereupon, a brief recess was taken. Committee members present: Representatives Doyle, Velde, and Scherer.)

(The committee was reconvened at the expiration of the recess. Committee members present: Representatives Doyle and Scherer.)

Mr. DOYLE. Are you ready, Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Jeremiah Feingold, please come forward.

Please remain standing while our chairman administers an oath to you.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FEINGOLD. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF JEREMIAH FEINGOLD, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,  
LAWRENCE SPEISER**

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Jeremiah Feingold. Residence, 742 Chandler Street. (Representative Harold H. Velde entered the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. Occupation in records store, bookstore, novelty store, at 1200 Divisadero.

Mr. ARENS. In San Francisco?

Mr. FEINGOLD. In San Francisco.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Yes; I do.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, would you kindly identify yourself.

Mr. SPEISER. Lawrence Speiser, staff counsel, American Civil Liberties Union of northern California, San Francisco.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you born, Mr. Feingold?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Kiev, Russia; Ukraine.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Oh, in December of 1915.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen by naturalization?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. When were you naturalized?

Mr. FEINGOLD. In 1945.

Mr. ARENS. Where?

Mr. FEINGOLD. San Francisco.

Mr. ARENS. What is the name of the establishment you operate, Mr. Feingold?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Russky Kustar—Russian Craftsman.

Mr. ARENS. Is that a bookstore?

Mr. FEINGOLD. It is a combination bookstore, record shop and toy-shop, novelty shop.

Mr. ARENS. Do you own the store?

Mr. FEINGOLD. I do.

Mr. ARENS. Is it a corporation?

Mr. FEINGOLD. No. Personal ownership.

Mr. SCHERER. What was that name?

Mr. FEINGOLD. R-u-s-s-k-y K-u-s-t-a-r. Russian Craftsman.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Feingold, are you, or is the bookstore registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. FEINGOLD. No; not at this time.

Mr. ARENS. And have you, or has the bookstore ever been registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act?



Mr. FEINGOLD. It was for a couple of years.

Mr. ARENS. What period of time was that?

Mr. FEINGOLD. I couldn't—I think it was between 1950 and 1953. That is about the time. I couldn't exactly tell.

Mr. ARENS. Could you kindly keep your voice up a little bit, please, Mr. Feingold. We are having a little difficulty hearing you.

Have you ever used any name other than the name Feingold, Jeremiah Feingold?

Mr. FEINGOLD. I used Ferron, the name Ferron.

Mr. ARENS. How do you spell that?

Mr. FEINGOLD. F-e-r-r-o-n.

Mr. ARENS. What occasioned your use of that name?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Just no occasion at all. I worked under that name.

Mr. ARENS. Do you at any time still use that name?

Mr. FEINGOLD. No; never.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you employed or under what circumstances did you use the name of Jerry Ferron?

Mr. FEINGOLD. I am a member of the union, Miscellaneous Culinary Workers, and I was under that name working there.

Mr. ARENS. When?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Well, I belonged to that union somewhere since 1936 or 1937. I don't remember exactly the date. I have to get that.

Mr. VELDE. I didn't get the name of the union.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Miscellaneous Culinary Workers Union, Local 110, located in San Francisco (AFL).

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Feingold do you, at your establishment, import literature or material from the Soviet-bloc countries?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Well, I do.

Mr. ARENS. What is the volume of your importation of Soviet literature or literature from the Soviet-bloc countries?

Mr. FEINGOLD. You mean in money?

Mr. ARENS. No. Just give us an estimate, an appraisal of the volume of the importations which you make.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Well, maybe \$4,000 or \$5,000 a year. Maybe a little more. Maybe a little more.

Mr. ARENS. From where do you procure—

Mr. SCHERER. Wait a minute. You seem to hesitate. Maybe a little more.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Yes; because I couldn't tell exactly. I have to consult my books.

Mr. ARENS. We want your best appraisal of the approximate amount.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Yes.

From the Soviet Union—for instance, this year I just paid a bill for \$100—\$179. Last month I paid \$400. And then I sent in advance money for purchasing wooden toys. I sent about \$500—

Mr. ARENS. I am not speaking now about toys. I am speaking exclusively about—

Mr. FEINGOLD. Books?

Mr. ARENS. Literature. Books, printed material of any kind which you procure from the Soviet-bloc countries.

Mr. FEINGOLD. It wouldn't be more than three or four thousand dollars a year. That is the most.



Mr. ARENS. From what countries do you import this material in the Soviet bloc?

Mr. FEINGOLD. From Moscow, Mezhdunarodnaja Kniga.

Mr. ARENS. Give us that name again and spell it for us; would you, please?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mezhdunarodnaja Kniga. That, in translation, is International Book. That is the name.

Mr. ARENS. International Book. And is it an establishment in Moscow?

Mr. FEINGOLD. It is established in Moscow.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have a contractual arrangement with that establishment in Moscow?

Mr. FEINGOLD. I do. I have no contract, but I have what they offered me, 6 months. That is what I asked—6 months' credit.

Mr. ARENS. With whom did you negotiate to consummate the arrangements?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Directly with them.

Mr. ARENS. By correspondence?

Mr. FEINGOLD. By correspondence.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been engaged in this process of importing literature via the Soviet-bloc countries?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Well, I just have to give a little introduction to that.

Mr. ARENS. Go right ahead, please.

Mr. FEINGOLD. I started that business in 1947, the 15th of December. I started it as a seller of woodcraft. That is why I call it, in Russian, Russky Kustar, woodcraft and artistic objects from Russia. But I couldn't get much of that. So then I switched to records. And after records, with the records, people ask me for books and all that.

I started getting books from—Russian books from New York, from Four Continent.

Mr. ARENS. Did Four Continent import those from Russia?

Mr. FEINGOLD. From Russia.

Mr. VELDE. When you talk about records are you talking about phonograph records?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Phonograph records. That is about 40 percent of my sales right now, Russian records from the Soviet Union and long-playing records made in this country.

Mr. VELDE. Will they play on our American phonographs?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mostly on 78's. They are regular, standard 78's. They are a little smaller. They are a little smaller according to the metric system, but they play on our phonographs. The only one that doesn't drop down on our phonograph is the long playing. That is why I don't get them. I buy them here.

Mr. SCHERER. Are they all musical records?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Well, some of them have plays, old Russian plays like Gogol's Dead Souls and Inspector General by Gogol, musical records, songs, and speeches. I mean not speeches, but I mean plays and recitals. That is what I have.

Mr. SCHERER. When you said speeches—

Mr. FEINGOLD. No speeches. Recitals and plays.

Mr. SCHERER. I was waiting for that speeches.

Mr. ARENS. Are you sure, Mr. Feingold, of the description of the preliminary leading to this arrangement?

Mr. FEINGOLD. To the store?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. FEINGOLD. That is what my store is. And the preliminary, to finish with the preliminary then, I started to negotiate with the Mezhdunarodnaja Kniga because Four Continent handled not enough books which my trade demanded, and also the prices were kind of high.

And so I negotiated with Mezhdunarodnaja Kniga, and I got a very small percentage at the beginning. But it was only 30 percent discount. But I negotiated further and further, and finally I got up to a 50-percent discount. And the prices are very reasonable.

Mr. ARENS. In what language are the principal books and literature appearing?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Russian.

Mr. ARENS. Almost exclusively in Russian?

Mr. FEINGOLD. At this particular time it is principally in Russian.

Mr. ARENS. Do you also have any contractual arrangement or agreement with the organization in Moscow pursuant to which you send to Moscow any material at all?

Mr. FEINGOLD. No. I was—by the way, just a little part, a necessary part: before I wrote to Soviet Union for books I sent a letter to the Department of Justice and asked them if I could engage in that. And they answered that I can.

Mr. ARENS. You said a few moments ago, Mr. Feingold, that your volume was about \$3,000 a year, did you not?

Mr. FEINGOLD. \$3,000 a year that I get; about that; my current bills I pay, I know about.

Mr. ARENS. That is what you pay for the books and literature you receive from Moscow. Is that correct?

Mr. FEINGOLD. From Moscow. But I get, in addition to that, because I have difficulties with Mr. Fishman here getting some books that I need.

Mr. ARENS. By Mr. Fishman, do you mean the United States customs service?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Yes. Postals. I get some books from Four Continents. That is Soviet books.

Mr. ARENS. I want to get this one item clear. Your expenditures for material from Moscow approximate \$3,000 a year. Is that correct?

Mr. FEINGOLD. \$3,000 or \$4,000; no more than that.

Mr. ARENS. What are your approximate expenditures to Four Continent Book Corp. in New York City, roughly speaking, in the course of a year?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Maybe a thousand dollars; maybe more. I couldn't tell.

Mr. ARENS. Are there any other expenditures which you make for the purpose of procuring—

Mr. FEINGOLD. The books?

Mr. ARENS. Books or literature of any kind from any source?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Well, I got books—I get books from Imported Publications in—

Mr. ARENS. Imported Publications. Where is that, please, sir?

Mr. FEINGOLD. That is in New York.

Mr. ARENS. What is the approximate expenditure by yourself to procure those?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Maybe around \$500 or \$600 a year. No more.

Mr. ARENS. Are the books you procure from the Four Continent Book Corp. and from Imported Publications and Products likewise books which originate in Soviet Russia?

Mr. FEINGOLD. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Are they likewise in the Russian language?

Mr. FEINGOLD. In the Russian language.

Mr. ARENS. Is there any other source from which you procure books or literature?

Mr. FEINGOLD. No, not at this time. I used to get from Collet's in England, and I used to get from Maison de Livre in France [Les Livres Etrangers], but the post office doesn't let very many books from there. And I have quite a few books that were stopped on me and practically lost.

Mr. ARENS. You have told us that your approximate expenditure—and if I am in error please correct me—your expenditure to procure books and literature from these various sources is approximately, so I calculate here, \$4,500 a year. Is that about right?

Mr. FEINGOLD. No; I think it is more than that.

About, let us say, from \$5,000 to \$6,000.

Mr. ARENS. We will say from \$5,000 to \$6,000 a year.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. What is the total amount which you, in turn, receive for the material which you have procured at the cost of \$5,000 or \$6,000?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Well, it all depends.

Mr. ARENS. Roughly speaking. I want an overall estimate.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Sometimes my turnover is all together about \$18,000 in 12 months, and sometimes it is twenty-two, twenty-three.

Mr. ARENS. Does that turnover you are speaking of include the toys?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Including toys and everything. I have no separate account of books.

Mr. ARENS. What is your best estimate? You are a businessman operating here.

Mr. FEINGOLD. I have—well, you see, books are the best-selling material because on some books I could, like others do, hike the price. They are good books. And—

Mr. ARENS. I only want an estimate, Mr. Feingold. I am not trying to parry with you. You have expended, you say, about \$5,000 or \$6,000 a year for the purpose of procuring books.

Mr. FEINGOLD. I would get back \$10,000 or \$12,000.

Mr. ARENS. Then would you approximately double your money? I don't mean in profit but approximately double your money?

Mr. FEINGOLD. I don't think I do. I have to do other things to make money because I have a lot of books that are left that I can't sell.

Mr. ARENS. You have, of course, expenses that have to be deducted from that.

Mr. FEINGOLD. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Is it correct to say that you would be expending approximately \$5,000 or \$6,000 to procure—

Mr. FEINGOLD. \$10,000 or \$11,000.

Mr. ARENS (continuing). Material from various sources, and that the gross income—

Mr. FEINGOLD. Maybe from that—



Mr. ARENS. Is about \$10,000 or \$11,000. Is that correct?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Yes. Maybe a little more.

Mr. ARENS. This gives us a fair idea.

Now, Mr. Feingold, are you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Well, I am not now a member of the Communist Party.

But so far as the past, my past, I would like to decline on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. You say you are not now a member?

Mr. FEINGOLD. No.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party a year ago?

Mr. FEINGOLD. No.

Mr. ARENS. That would be, say, December of 1955.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. Well, on the basis—in regard to my organizational affiliations with the Communist Party, I would like to decline on the grounds that I didn't want to be a witness against myself on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I ask you if you understand the question. I do not mean to interrupt you. I am sorry. I want to see if you understand the question.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Yes, I understand the question.

Mr. ARENS. You have asserted, Mr. Feingold, that you are not, as of this instant, a member of the Communist Party. That is correct, isn't it?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I am asking you now, Were you a member of the Communist Party 1 year ago?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Well, I answered that already, Mr. Counsel, that I decline to answer on the grounds that I wouldn't like to be a witness against myself.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party 1 week ago?

Mr. FEINGOLD. The same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party any time after you received your subpoena to appear before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, which subpoena, I understand from the return, was served on you on November 12, 1956?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Not on November 12. It wasn't served on November 12. That is a mistake. It was served Tuesday.

Mr. ARENS. Be that as it may, were you at any time, since you were actually physically served with your subpoena to appear before this Committee on Un-American Activities, a member of the Communist Party?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. No.

Mr. ARENS. You were not.

Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time in the course of the last month?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I am sorry, but I am going to refuse to answer any questions in regards to that, in regards to my affiliation.



Mr. ARENS. Are you invoking the fifth amendment? Is that correct?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Feingold, are you presently under discipline of the Communist Party?

Mr. FEINGOLD. No. I am not. I have no connection of any kind except my book business which I conduct almost 7 days a week.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been under discipline of the Communist Party at any time in the course of the last 30 days?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. No.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been under the discipline of the Communist Party at any time in the course of the last year?

Mr. FEINGOLD. No.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been a member of the Communist Party at any time in the course of the last year?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Well, that is the same answer as last time.

Mr. ARENS. I wonder what distinction you are making between being under discipline of the Communist Party, which you deny in the course of the last month, and being a member of the Communist Party concerning which question you invoke the fifth amendment.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I wasn't a member a year ago.

Mr. ARENS. You were not a member of the Communist Party a year ago?

Mr. FEINGOLD. No.

But I would say, Mr. Counsel, if you will persist in asking me those questions, I would have to respectfully decline to answer on the basis of not desiring to be a witness against myself.

Mr. ARENS. I understand. I want to get this record clear.

You have just denied that you were a member of the Communist Party 1 year ago. Is that correct?

Mr. FEINGOLD. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Were you at any time in the course of the last year, including the day beyond a year, under discipline of the Communist Party?

Mr. FEINGOLD. No.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been under discipline of the Communist Party?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I am again declining to answer you on that because that is——

Mr. SCHERER. Just a minute.

May I ask a question?

Mr. DOYLE. Go ahead, Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. I believe you said you were naturalized in 1945.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. At the time you were naturalized you were asked, of course, whether you were a member of the Communist Party.

Do you recall that?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I don't recall that.

Mr. SCHERER. You don't recall being asked that question?

Mr. FEINGOLD. No, I don't recall that. Anyhow whatever——

Mr. ARENS. You were asked that question, as to whether or not you were a member of an organization dedicated to the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence; weren't you?

Mr. FEINGOLD. I certainly said I was not.

Mr. ARENS. That was when? In 1945?

Mr. FEINGOLD. That was when I became a citizen.

Mr. ARENS. That was in 1945?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. In 1945 when you were naturalized were you then, or had you prior to that time been, a member of the Communist Party?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I must decline to answer that on the basis of the—

Mr. SCHERER. Did you resign from the Communist Party so that you could be naturalized?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I am sorry but I decline to answer because it is assuming something, you know—again that I may be placed as a witness against myself.

Mr. SCHERER. Is my assumption incorrect?

You said it is assuming something; I assumed something.

Is my assumption that you resigned in order to become a citizen incorrect? I wouldn't want to be incorrect.

Mr. FEINGOLD. I must decline to answer that, Mr. Congressman, on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Feingold, do you expect to become a Communist Party member again as soon as you leave the jurisdiction of this committee?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I don't expect to become a Communist Party member. And that is—

Mr. VELDE. Do you expect at any time later in your life to become a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Gods knows.

Maybe I only have 2 or 3 days to live.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Feingold, I display to you now a copy of the Communist—

Mr. SCHERER. Just a minute, counsel.

You are an expert on naturalization. What questions were asked in 1945?

Mr. ARENS. It was not until about 1950 that the Communist Party itself was specified within the application filed for citizenship.

Mr. Feingold, I lay before you a copy of the Communist Daily People's World, July 14, 1939, and I invite your attention to a column "What's On" with reference to San Francisco. And there appears:

Let's celebrate the 20th wedding anniversary of Jerry and Augusta Feingold and the 20th anniversary of his membership in Party, Saturday, July 22, 1936 Valenica Street, at 8 p. m. Russian food, music and dancing. Admission 19 cents.

I am not too certain about that amount of the admission. It isn't too clear in the reproduction.

Kindly look at this article from the Communist Daily People's World of Friday, July 14, 1939, and tell this committee whether or not this membership in the Party—capital P for Party here—in connection with yourself alludes to you, and whether or not that is correct.

(The witness examines document and confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. This is definitely to place me as a witness against myself, Mr. Counsel, and I respectfully decline to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Feingold Exhibit No. 1" and filed in the records of the committee.)

Mr. ARENS. Now I exhibit to you a document which is a reproduction of the Western Worker, the western organ of the Communist Party, U. S. A. In this Western Worker of January 28, 1935, dated Fresno, Calif., [Jan. 23] the following appears:

Jerry Feingold spoke at the Lenin Memorial meeting held here Sunday night. The meeting was well attended. On Saturday night Comrade Feingold spoke at a meeting of small farmers and agricultural workers held at Kerman near here.

Kindly look at that article, if you please, sir, appearing in the Communist Western Worker, which is identified by its masthead as the western organ of the Communist Party, U. S. A., and tell this committee, while you are under oath, whether or not you are he, the Comrade Feingold, alluded to in that article.

(The witness examines document and confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I still have the same answer, Mr. Counsel.

(Document marked "Feingold Exhibit No. 2," and filed in the records of the committee.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Feingold, I exhibit to you another reproduction of the Communist Western Worker, Thursday, December 16, 1937. It is an article entitled "This People's World," and is written by Jerry Feingold, in which the following appears:

As for myself, a press builder and an old Party member, I felt this responsibility keenly and decided to do all I could to utilize the great possibilities and reserves for our Party \* \* \*.

Did you write that article, Mr. Feingold, identifying yourself in it as "an old Party member" who felt certain responsibilities?

Kindly look at that article and tell this committee while you are under oath whether that is a truthful reproduction of a statement made by yourself.

(The witness examines document and confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I am sorry, Mr. Counsel, but it will be the same answer.

(Document marked "Feingold Exhibit No. 3," and filed in the records of the committee.)

Mr. ARENS. In other words, do you honestly feel that if you told this committee truthfully whether or not you wrote that article you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceedings?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. The same answer, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that this record reflect an order and direction to the witness to answer this last question.

Mr. DOYLE. You are directed to answer the question.

Mr. ARENS. Perhaps the witness doesn't understand the question.

Mr. SPEISER. I think there was some confusion. You were both speaking at the same time.

Mr. ARENS. I don't want to confuse the witness at all.



Let me explain the status of this record.

I have just displayed to you an article bearing the byline of Jerry Feingold, and I read an excerpt from the article. I have asked you whether or not you wrote that article or whether or not that article quotes you correctly, and you have invoked the fifth amendment.

Then I substantially asked you: do you truthfully believe, honestly believe, that if you told this committee while you are under oath whether or not that article quotes you correctly you would be supplying information which might be used against you in some way in a criminal proceeding?

And the chairman has directed that you answer that question.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I am sorry but I will decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. SCHERER. Just a minute. I think we should explain to the witness that the courts require us to ask that question to determine whether or not a witness is using the fifth amendment in good faith, and that his answer to that question to avoid a possible contempt proceeding should be yes or no.

If he is relying on the invocation of the fifth amendment in good faith, his response to that question of counsel should be yes.

That is my understanding of the law.

I think we should make that explanation.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course, that is why I made the instruction that I did.

Are you ready, Mr. Arens?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Yes, but in view of the uncertainty that appears to be reflected in the countenance of the witness, I suggest he may want to confer with his counsel there for a moment.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, while the witness is conferring with his counsel, may I respectfully suggest that this record reflect, as has been the custom of the committee, that the various exhibits which are displayed to the witnesses shall be ordered by the chairman to be appropriately marked and incorporated either by reference or in the body of the record, as the case may be.

Mr. DOYLE. It will be so ordered.

Mr. FEINGOLD. My invokment of the fifth amendment doesn't require for me to explain.

Mr. ARENS. We are not asking an explanation. We are only asking whether or not—

Mr. FEINGOLD. I invoke it on the basis of not wanting to be a witness against myself.

Mr. ARENS. In what kind of a proceeding?

Mr. FEINGOLD. In this particular question I am not explaining.

Mr. ARENS. So that this record is abundantly, absolutely clear, without a question of a doubt, I want to go over it once more.

Do you, Mr. Feingold, honestly apprehend, honestly fear that if you gave us a truthful answer as to whether or not you are correctly quoted in the last exhibit you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)



Mr. FEINGOLD. I am sorry, but I must decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that once again this record reflect an order and direction by the chairman to the witness to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Witness, I direct you to answer that last question. (The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. My answer is the same as previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Witness, we exhibit to you still another document. It is a document entitled "The Workers School." Training for the class struggle. Winter term announcement of courses, January 7 to March 29, 1935, Fourth Year.

And turning a page or two in this bulletin of this Workers School we see the following:

History of Class Struggles in Czarist Russia, Wednesday, 7 to 9 p. m.

The instructor of this course is identified as J. Feingold.

Kindly look at this document and tell this committee while you are under oath, please, sir, whether or not you are the J. Feingold who taught that course at the Workers School at the time and place indicated on the document.

(The witness confers with his counsel and examines document.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I am sorry, Mr. Counsel, but the answer will be the same. I will decline to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Feingold Exhibit No. 4," and filed in the records of the committee.)

Mr. ARENS. Now we are going to go over the same ground once more. We will not take too much time, I hope, Mr. Feingold.

Do you honestly apprehend that if you told this committee truthfully whether or not you are the J. Feingold alluded to in this last exhibit you would be giving information which could be used against you in some way in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I again will refuse, respectfully refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest the witness now be ordered and directed on this record to answer that question.

Mr. DOYLE. Witness, I direct you to answer that last question.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I am refusing to answer on the same grounds, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been a member of the Russian American Society?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. Well, I am refusing—

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I am refusing to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact, sir, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact that you were a member of the executive committee of the Russian American Society.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. Anything in regard to any of these, in regard to any organization that you mention, I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have the same position with reference to what we might call nonsensitive organizations, anti-Communist organizations?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds as previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Feingold, I want the record to be clear.

I wasn't challenging your position with reference to the invocation of the fifth amendment on the Russian American Society. I was only challenging your position which you rather volunteered there, that you weren't going to answer questions about any organizations.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I am sorry; I will take the questions as they come along.

Mr. ARENS. Yes. I wanted the record to be straight on that point so we do not misunderstand one another.

Now, Mr. Feingold, I want to lay before you a photostatic copy of a document bearing your signature, which was filed with the Department of Justice. It is a reproduction of exhibit A filed by Jeremiah Feingold in support of the registration statement filed by Russky Kustar, San Francisco, under the terms of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended. It is dated December 15, 1952, and bears the signature of J. Feingold.

First of all, let me ask you, please, sir, if you would kindly look at the document, not for content, if you please, but principally, if you would be good enough, to verify the authenticity of your signature appearing on this document.

(The witness examines document and confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. No. Again I am sorry, Mr. Counsel, I shall again invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Feingold, in this particular registration statement which I have just exhibited to you, I see, among other questions, the following:

All clubs, societies, committees, and other nonbusiness organizations in the United States or elsewhere, including any active or reserve military or naval forces, of which you have been a member, director, officer, or employee during the past 2 years.

Immediately under this form designation we see the following answers:

Russian American Society, member of executive committee since its organization in 1941.

Did you cause that statement to be made on this form? And, if so, is that statement true?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I am sorry, Mr. Counsel. The same privilege.

Mr. ARENS. I see also immediately after the language which I have just read to you the following:

International Workers Order, member. Was a member from 1943 to 1951.

Did you cause that language to be placed on this form, and, if so, does that language represent the fact?  
(The witness confers with his counsel.)

## FEINGOLD EXHIBIT No. 5

 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

## EXHIBIT A

## TO REGISTRATION AND EXEMPTION STATEMENTS

Under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as Amended

REGISTRATION NO. 7544

Furnish this exhibit for all partners, officers, directors, or similar officials of the Registrant or Agent, as the case may be, and for all employees or other individuals who render services or assistance to the Registrant or Agent for or in the interests of any foreign principal of the Registrant or Agent.

THIS EXHIBIT WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED FOR FILING UNLESS IT IS REASONABLY COMPLETE AND ACCURATE.

## 1. (a) Full name.

JEREMIAH FEINGOLD

## (b) All other names ever used and when each was used.

For about six years from 1936-1942 I used the name "Jerry Ferron"

## (c) All present business addresses.

1200 Divisadero Street,  
San Francisco, California

## (d) All present residence addresses.

742 Chenery Street, San Francisco, California

## 2. (a) Date and place of birth.

August 25, 1895. Kiev, Russia

## (b) Citizenship or nationality.

United States of America

## (c) If present citizenship not acquired by birth, indicate when, where, and how acquired.

I became a naturalized citizen of the United States of America  
at San Francisco, California, on August 12, 1946.

## 3. All visits to or residence in foreign countries during the past 5 years.

Name of foreign country

Purpose of visit or stay  
in foreign countryDate and part of each departure from  
and entry into United States

None



4. All clubs, societies, committees, and other nonbusiness organizations in the United States or elsewhere, including any active or reserve military or naval forces, of which you have been a member, director, officer, or employer during the past 2 years.

Name and address of organization	Nature of connection with organization	Duration of connection
Russian American Society	Member of Executive Committee	Since its organization in 1941
International Workers Order	Member	Was a member from 1943 to 1951
Misc. Culinary Workers (Local 110) A.F.L.	Member	Since 1936

5. (a) A full description of all activities of any kind in which you are presently engaged for or in the interests of the Registrant or Agent or any foreign principal of yourself or of the Registrant or Agent

I am not presently engaged in any way for or in the interests of any foreign principal of myself or of the registrant. As stated in my Registration Statement, I am the sole owner of the registrant concern. My only activities are in connection with that concern. The activities of that concern are fully described and set forth in the Registration Statement of Russky Kustar.

- (b) A brief description of all other business, occupations, and public activities in which you are presently engaged

None

6. Furnish the following information as to all amounts received by you, as compensation or otherwise, during the 3 months preceding the filing of this exhibit, directly or indirectly from the Registrant or Agent or from any foreign principal of yourself or of the Registrant or Agent.

Date funds received	Name of person from whom received	Purpose for which received	Amount received
I have taken approximately \$450.00 out of my business, Russky Kustar, for my own use, in the last three months. I have received no money from any other source.			



3

7. (a) Speeches, lectures, talks, and radio broadcasts delivered by you during the past 3 months.

Date delivered

# here delivered

Kind of audience

Subject matter discussed

None

(b) All newspapers, magazines, articles, books, pamphlets, press releases, moving pictures, radio programs and scripts, and other publications, prepared or distributed by you or by others for you, or in the preparation or distribution of which you rendered any services or assistance, during the past 6 months.

Description of publication

By whom written, edited, or prepared

By whom printed, produced, or published

By whom distributed

See answer to Question No. 11 in Rusaky Kustar's Registration Statement dated November 28, 1952.

8. List all of your connections, not fully described above, with all foreign governments, foreign political parties, or officials or agencies thereof.

Name of government, party, or official or agency thereof

Nature of your office, employment, or other connection

Nature of any subsidy or other financial arrangement

None

I CERTIFY that I have read the information set forth in this exhibit and am familiar with the contents thereof and that the information herein contained is true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

*Jeremiah Feingold*  
(Signature)  
Jeremiah Feingold

December 15, 1952.

(Date of signature)

Jeremiah Feingold

(Type or print name)

Two copies of each Exhibit A shall be filed. Both copies shall be signed by the person for whom the information contained herein is given. A third copy should be prepared and retained for future reference.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. The same answer; the same privilege. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Why, Mr. Feingold, when you made out this form, did you not include the organizations of which you have been a member, director, officer, or employee during the last 2 years preceding the date of the form? Why did you not specify membership in the Communist Party?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. Well, I claim the same privilege, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Feingold, you are aware, are you not, of the so-called Judy Coplon case in which one Judith Coplon was tried in Washington, D. C., in 1949? You know of that case, do you not?

I mean from public sources. Leave it that way for the moment.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I don't know if I know about it much, but—

Mr. ARENS. You have heard of the Judy Coplon case?

You know that there was a trial of a person by the name of Judy Coplon, do you not?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. Yes, I heard of it.

Mr. ARENS. In the course of the trial of Judy Coplon you know that there were exhibited and introduced into the record of that case, which is now public property, excerpts from certain FBI reports? Do you know that?

Mr. FEINGOLD. I don't read the full details of any of that stuff.

Mr. ARENS. I should like to read and allude, if you please, to excerpts from certain of the FBI reports introduced in the trial of Judith Coplon which began in Washington in June of 1949.

I am now reading, Mr. Feingold, from an FBI report which was introduced in the public record of that trial:

Confidential Informant SF-1159 advised that a faction of the Russian American Society, consisting of Communist Party members and followers of the Communist Party line, have had control of this organization for several years. Informant added that the activities of this organization show close cooperation with the Communist Party and Communist Party controlled organizations, and implements of the Communist Party line. He added that the Russian American Society celebrates Soviet holidays, has frequent contact with officials of the Russian Consulate in San Francisco, and has been influenced in internal policies by the Russian Consulate of San Francisco. He stated it also engages in Soviet propaganda and that emphasis in the activities of this organization have shifted from submitting financial aid to Russia to issuing propaganda for Russia although large amounts of relief supplies have been sent to the U. S. S. R. in the past few years.

I have just read to you, Mr. Feingold, an excerpt from an FBI report, now public property which was introduced in a trial in the eastern part of the United States.

I ask you whether or not you have information which would confirm the information stated in the FBI report quoting a confidential informant.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. No; I have no information.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been a member of the Russian American Society?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. Well, the same answer I have to give to that, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. SCHERER. What was the answer?

Mr. ARENS. He is invoking the fifth amendment, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SCHERER. He stated in his registration statement to the United States Department of Justice that he was a member of the executive committee of the Russian American Society since its organization in 1941, and the application was signed on December 15, 1952.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Feingold, do you have information respecting any contacts between the Russian American Society and the Russian consulate at San Francisco?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. No; I am sorry, Mr. Counsel, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. SCHERER. I can't hear the witness.

Mr. FEINGOLD. I am declining to answer it on the grounds of not desiring to be a witness against myself.

Mr. ARENS. Is it a fact that the internal policies of the Russian American Society have been influenced by the Russian consulate of San Francisco?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I am sorry, but I will decline to answer that on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Is it a fact that the Russian American Society, engages in Soviet propaganda?

Mr. FEINGOLD. I have to decline that answer, too, on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Now do you know or have you ever known a person by the name of Clara—and I spell the last name—J-u-r-a-v-c-o-f-f? [Also spelled J-u-r-a-v-k-o-f-f.]

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. What again?

Mr. ARENS. The last name is J-u-r-a-v-c-o-f-f. The first name is Clara, C-l-a-r-a.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. No; I am sorry. I will have to decline to answer that on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I should like to continue reading from this FBI report. This is a report, you will recall, Mr. Feingold, which was introduced in a public record in 1949.

It will also be noted that Jerry Feingold is a member of the Communist Party.

Is that report correct as of June 1949? Or is that report in error?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. Well, I am sorry, Mr. Counsel. I will decline to answer that on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Now I would like to read you something:

Jeremiah Feingold, when he has something important to transmit or deliver to his Chief—

There appears a comma here—

Consul of the U. S. S. R., he usually goes by way of one of these routes—

Have you delivered anything of any consequence to the consul of the U. S. S. R. located in the San Francisco area?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. In what context is that question being asked, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. ARENS. I beg your pardon?

Mr. SPEISER. In what context is the question being asked? What context, c-o-n-t-e-x-t?

Mr. ARENS. Would you restate what you asked?

Mr. SPEISER. In what context is the question being asked?

Mr. FEINGOLD. In what context?

Mr. ARENS. Have you transmitted information to the Russian consulate or to the Russian diplomatic establishment in the San Francisco area?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. No.

Mr. ARENS. Have you caused such information to be transmitted to the Russian consulate here?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. I am making a distinction between a personal visit and a visit via some other person.

The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. No.

Mr. ARENS. Have you delivered, via Clara Juravcoff, J-u-r-a-v-c-o-f-f, certain information to the Russian consul in San Francisco?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. No.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know Clara J-u-r-a-v-c-o-f-f?

Mr. FEINGOLD. I answer it; I didn't deliver anything to the Russian consul through anybody.

Mr. VELDE. Is there a Russian consulate here at the present time?

Mr. FEINGOLD. No.

Mr. VELDE. How long has it been since there has been one here?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Oh, I believe about 8—7 or 8 years.

Mr. VELDE. Where was it at that time?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. VELDE. Have you ever seen it, in other words?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Yes. It was on Broadway Street.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been there?

Mr. FEINGOLD. In connection with my business; yes.

I tried to get—when I opened that business of mine I tried to get from them license to start sending parcels to Russia. And I—just a moment, counsel. Let me finish.

Mr. ARENS. I'm sorry.

Mr. FEINGOLD. And I went to them, and they referred me to Amtorg here, Mr. Gracheff. But I couldn't get that concession because I had to furnish \$20,000 bond, and nobody would furnish bond but the State Bank of Russia. So I had to drop that concession.

Mr. ARENS. Let us get this pinpointed. Do you know Clara J-u-r-a-v-c-o-f-f?

Mr. FEINGOLD. I have to decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know whether or not Clara J-u-r-a-v-c-o-f-f has procured from you certain information which she, in turn, delivered to a representative of the Soviet Union in the United States?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I don't know.



Mr. SCHERER. Do you know whether this woman procured from you any information that she transferred to a functionary of the Communist Party?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I don't know of anything about any—

Mr. SCHERER. Did you transmit any information to a high functionary of the Communist Party?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. SPEISER. When?

Mr. SCHERER. Around—prior to 1949.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. Congressman, I will have to decline that on the basis of self-incrimination.

Mr. SCHERER. Let me see those notes you have, Mr. Counsel, will you? Does it talk about transmitting information to the chief?

Mr. ARENS. It appears in several places.

May I finish on this matter? I have several places marked.

Mr. SCHERER. All right.

Mr. ARENS. Did the Russian-American Society, to your knowledge, transmit any information to the Russian diplomatic establishment here?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. Again I will decline to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Did the Russian American Society, to your knowledge, transmit to the diplomatic establishment of the Soviet Government in this area any confidential, restricted, or security information?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. Again I will decline to answer on the basis of self-incrimination.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to continue, and then turn it over to Congressman Scherer.

The FBI report, which is in the public record of the Judy Coplon case, contains the following:

He—

That is Feingold—

was born in Russia and entered the United States in 1915, becoming a naturalized United States citizen—

The dates are a little uncertain. August 12, I think it is, 1948.

In his Alien Registration Certificate, he stated he was a member of the Communist Party but resigned on June 1, 1940. Informants advised, however, that he was active in the Communist Party in San Francisco even after he claimed to have resigned. In 1947 he stated that he would renew his membership in the Communist Party as soon as his wife became a United States citizen. According to SF 1159, Jeremiah Feingold was again a member of the Communist Party on January 1, 1948.

Is that statement contained in this FBI report which is a matter of public record in the Judy Coplon case true, or is it in error?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I was not a member of the party at that time or after 1948.

Mr. SCHERER. That wasn't the question.

Mr. FEINGOLD. So that is the answer to that.

Mr. ARENS. No; that is not the answer to this.

Let me then ask you about some of the specifics on this.

First of all, did you assert in your alien registration statement that you were a member of the Communist Party but resigned on June 1, 1940?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Did you make that assertion?

Mr. FEINGOLD. No. I have to decline to answer on that.

Mr. SCHERER. That is a matter of public record. I ask that you direct the witness to answer that question.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct that you answer that question, Mr. Witness.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. No; I am sorry. I will have to decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Did you, after 1940, renew membership in the Communist Party?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I did not join the Communist Party on the date you cite.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. After the date you cite.

Mr. SCHERER. Were you active in the San Francisco area in Communist Party activities and programs after that date, whether you had a party membership card or not?

Mr. FEINGOLD. I am sorry, but I will have to decline to answer that. I will have to decline to answer that on the grounds of self-incrimination.

Mr. ARENS. Let me read the precise language here pinpointing that so there can be no ambiguity.

That he——

That is, you, Feingold——

was active in the Communist Party in San Francisco even after he claimed to have resigned.

Is that statement true or is it false?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I am declining to answer that.

Mr. ARENS. You honestly feel that if you told this committee truthfully whether or not you were active in the Communist Party after you claimed to have resigned, you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding; is that correct?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I decline to answer on the grounds of self-incrimination.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be ordered and directed to answer the last outstanding question.

Mr. DOYLE. You are directed to answer that question.

Mr. FEINGOLD. I am sorry, Mr. Chairman, but I have to decline to answer on the grounds of self-incrimination.

Mr. SCHERER. When was your wife naturalized?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. She is not naturalized yet.

Mr. SCHERER. She is not naturalized?

Mr. FEINGOLD. No.

Mr. SCHERER. Did she ever make application?

Mr. FEINGOLD. She did.

Mr. SCHERER. When did she make application?

Mr. FEINGOLD. I couldn't tell you exactly.

Mr. SCHERER. About how long ago?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Oh, that was long ago, but they didn't call her. They passed her but they didn't call her to take an oath.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a man by the name of Potash?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. Well, a fellow with the name of Potash offered the sale of toys to me that Amtorg left here.

Mr. ARENS. What was Potash's first name?

Mr. FEINGOLD. I don't know. I met him only a couple of times and I couldn't furnish the money to buy it together with him, so he just—I just didn't buy it.

Mr. ARENS. What was Potash's official connection? Do you know?

Mr. FEINGOLD. I don't know. He told me that he was going to buy the bunch of toys that was left of about \$5,000, and I couldn't furnish my part of the money so he found another partner to buy it. If that is the Potash. I don't know which Potash you mean. That is the only Potash I remember I know.

Is that what it is?

Mr. ARENS. I beg your pardon?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I am sorry.

Mr. ARENS. Did you want to see this, Congressman?

Mr. SCHERER. Not now. May I ask this witness a few questions. Mr. Chairman?

Witness, do you get any first-class mail from Russia?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Oh, parcel post. What do you mean, first class? You mean business correspondence?

Mr. SCHERER. Yes.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Oh, yes; I do.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you get any literature?

Mr. FEINGOLD. First class?

Mr. SCHERER. Yes, by first class.

Mr. FEINGOLD. No. It never came first class to me. It always came registered parcel post, so far as I remember. I don't remember. Maybe something came through. And I received quite a few packages from there.

Mr. SCHERER. Packages first-class mail?

Mr. FEINGOLD. No, not first class; parcel post.

The only thing that came first class is invoices and correspondence.

Mr. SCHERER. That is business correspondence.

Mr. FEINGOLD. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. You had no other correspondence from anyone inside Russia?

Mr. FEINGOLD. What?

Mr. SCHERER. You have no other type of correspondence with anyone inside Russia?

Mr. FEINGOLD. No.

Mr. SCHERER. Just business correspondence.

Do you receive any mail of any kind for transmission to other persons or organizations?



Mr. FEINGOLD. You mean through my business?

Mr. SCHERER. Yes.

Mr. FEINGOLD. No.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you get any publications for which you do not pay?

Mr. FEINGOLD. For which I receive pay?

Mr. SCHERER. That you do not have to pay for. Do you get any publications that you do not have to pay for, free literature?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Sometimes they do send it and I tell them not to send it. I am not distributing it. Catalogs sometimes and something that I don't need in big quantity. I just don't use it.

Mr. SCHERER. Do they send you big quantities of catalogs?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Sometimes they do, but I just don't use it.

Mr. SCHERER. What would be the purpose of sending you big quantities of catalogs?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Well, I guess to send those catalogs of the literature. Some of the literature is very good, scientific, and all, but I don't send it out. I just use my own catalogs. I print my own catalogs of books that I acquire and send out to universities, to the Army schools.

Mr. SCHERER. Other than catalogs, do you get any literature for which you do not pay?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Well, as I said, maybe once or twice they send it, but I didn't distribute it, and most of the time I send it back.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, just once or twice they sent you quantities of literature that you sent back or didn't distribute?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Oh, I sent quite a bit back. I am in the process of sending quite a few more right now.

Mr. SCHERER. Can you tell us why they would send it to you when you didn't request it?

Mr. FEINGOLD. I guess they want to drum up their business. And I can't sell it, and I don't want to get anything free. I am just willing to pay. And I either return them or——

Mr. SCHERER. They sent you this literature that you have sent back in quantities, you say. Is that right?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Not very big quantities. Maybe, let's say, 500 pieces of some booklets and something.

Mr. SCHERER. Literature that you have not requested?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Not requested, yes.

And the reason of this nonrequest literature is that they have—they had a system, which I had to stop, of sending literature on subject matters, philosophy, economy, literature, all that. And I wasn't able to sell it because most of that stuff won't be sold. I have quite a few on hand which I am sending back. So I told them specifically that I don't want it.

Mr. SCHERER. That literature wasn't to be sold, was it, that they sent you?

Mr. FEINGOLD. No, no; that is to be sold.

Mr. SCHERER. It was to be distributed.

Mr. FEINGOLD. No, no, no.

Mr. SCHERER. That was free literature, was it not?

Mr. FEINGOLD. I am not talking about free literature. I am talking about paid literature that they did send me, something I didn't order.



Mr. SCHERER. Did they ever send you any literature that was not to be sold?

Mr. FEINGOLD. As I said, maybe they sent once or twice, but I didn't distribute it. I am sure I didn't.

Mr. SCHERER. Is that the literature you sent back?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Well, more than that. Some of the literature that I paid I sent back, and asked them to——

Mr. SCHERER. What was the nature of this free literature they sent you without solicitation on your part?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Well, I really couldn't recall right now. Maybe some educational program or some things, you know, that I know wouldn't go here and I don't want anything free. I told them I want to sell whatever they send me. I am in business here and I want to get literature to be sold; not to be distributed free.

Mr. VELDE. Do you sell any other kind of literature or toys than those made in Soviet Russia?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Outside of Soviet Russia——

Mr. VELDE. Do you sell any other toys, literature, or writings——other than those made in Russia?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Well, I have quite a few on stock. I sold thousands of books of the prerevolutionary period I bought here secondhand. I couldn't get them otherwise.

Mr. VELDE. Prerevolutionary?

Mr. FEINGOLD. The czarist period. And then I have several hundred books of them yet now of czarist literature.

Mr. VELDE. Do you sell any American anti-Communist literature?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Well, I sold some of those books that my customers asked me, but they have special agents here that distribute it, and I could get from them whenever my customer wants a book, I get it from them. And I sell——

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. There is no book except how to become an American citizen in Russian, which I sell.

Mr. VELDE. I don't suppose you would have much call for it, anyhow, anti-Communist literature?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Why not? I sell quite a few of them.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I would like to tell, Mr. Chairman, who my customers are, if you allow me just for a second.

Mr. VELDE. Certainly.

Mr. FEINGOLD. You know, my customers are——

Mr. SCHERER. Remember, if you tell us who some of your customers are, you are going to have to tell us all of them.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Well, in business I have nothing to hide. I will answer every question and all questions concerning my business, because it is open and aboveboard and I think I do it legally and I have nothing to hide, what I do.

I sell a lot of books, until the books were stopped, the supply was stopped, to the Monterey Army School. They even thanked me for helping me to establish that school, Army Language School.

Not only there, but in other places, I sell a lot of maps, atlases, I sell all kinds of records that they want, to universities, to all kinds of——like the Department of Interior asked me for books on ichthyology, on fishes, I procure for them and they are very thankful.

As a matter of fact, I have such a need for books on fishes, and they make such a big use of it, that if I could get \$2,000 or \$3,000 of those books today, I could sell them. But I can't get them because there is such a small amount being published in Russia of those books.

I have also sold some books to the Library of Congress.

Mr. VELDE. You have individual customers, too, do you not?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Lots of individual customers.

Mr. VELDE. Do you recognize any of your old cronies or old comrades in any of your customers?

Mr. FEINGOLD. I don't know, Mr. Chairman, if it is a fair question. People come in and go. Some of them I know; some I don't. For the last 9 years I think I have performed a very useful business of that type, selling thousands of books, and most of them were of scientific and informative nature that professors——

Mr. VELDE. You surely know if the Communists come in there. That was my purpose. It just seems to me it would be a natural place for them.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I wouldn't say I know anybody that comes in there. And I don't care to know when they come in to buy. If they don't buy, they go out. They come and browse around. And I invite you to come over and take a look at the store.

Mr. SCHERER. To whom do you sell the literature that Mr. Jackson Jones of our staff bought in your store last week? To whom do you sell that kind?

I beg your pardon.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Feingold, have you also been an author in the course of the last 2 years?

Mr. FEINGOLD. An author?

Mr. ARENS. An author, a writer of articles.

Mr. FEINGOLD. No; I don't know. You know——

Mr. ARENS. Let us be sure that you have or have not.

Have you been an author, a writer of articles, in the course of the last 2 years?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. Well, I am going to decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a man by the name of Dr. Holland Roberts?

Mr. FEINGOLD. My customer.

Mr. ARENS. He is?

Mr. FEINGOLD. He comes in and buys books.

Mr. ARENS. Did you interview him in the store for an article that you wrote for the Communist Daily People's World?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I am sorry, Mr. Counsel, I will have to decline to answer on the grounds of self-incrimination.

Mr. ARENS. Do you feel the Soviet Army has done heroic work and guaranteed freedom for the Soviet peoples?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. Well, I have to decline to answer to that.

Mr. ARENS. I have an article in the Communist Daily People's World, Saturday, February 15, 1947, under the byline of Jerry Feingold, in which the author, Jerry Feingold, is quoting and commending Dr. Holland Roberts. It is all about the activities in Soviet Russia

and commending the Soviet Army for guaranteeing of freedom for the Soviet peoples.

Look at this article, if you please, Mr. Feingold, and see if, in addition to selling literature, you have been creating literature for domestic consumption?

(The witness examines document and confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I am sorry, Mr. Counsel. I will have to decline to answer this question.

(Document marked "Feingold Exhibit No. 6," and filed in the records of the committee.)

Mr. ARENS. Have you written for any publications other than the Daily People's World?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I am sorry, I have to decline to answer on that.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever seen a single piece of material coming to your establishment from Soviet Russia which bore a label, pursuant to the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act, as Communist political propaganda?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Some from Four Continent come, like other books don't have, like Great Russian Encyclopedia, they have a little label on it.

Mr. ARENS. What does the label say?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Well, in regard to that particular, you know—that is what the Four Continent—

Mr. ARENS. What does the label say?

Mr. FEINGOLD. It says that they registered—

Mr. ARENS. Registered under the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. FEINGOLD. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. But does it say "Communist propaganda"?

Mr. FEINGOLD. I don't think so.

Mr. ARENS. Did you ever see a single piece of literature in your life labeled "Communist propaganda"?

Mr. FEINGOLD. No; I don't think I have seen anything on that particular little label that you refer to. There is no such thing.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever labeled any of the material which you have sold "Communist propaganda"?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. No; I didn't label any, because I don't think anybody asked me to label anything. I just got those books and they passed by the United States examiner, the post office, and I sold them.

Mr. ARENS. You told us that this Dr. Holland Roberts was one of your customers a little while ago.

Mr. FEINGOLD. He bought a few books from me, and toys.

Mr. ARENS. When did he buy these books from you?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Oh, I don't remember because I—

Mr. ARENS. In the course of the last year?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Maybe last year. Maybe the year before. I couldn't tell you, you know, exactly, unless I look up the invoice of that particular establishment, and tell you exactly what he bought and where he bought it.

Mr. ARENS. Could you tell us whether or not, to your certain knowledge, Dr. Holland Roberts is or is not a member of the Communist Party?



Mr. FEINGOLD. I decline to answer on the grounds of self-incrimination.

Mr. SCHERER. Without telling us whether he is or not, do you know Dr. Roberts?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. No.

Mr. ARENS. Did you interview him in your establishment in anticipation of the preparation of this article about the celebration of the Soviet army which appeared in the Communist Daily People's World?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. Would you read the full article there on top?

Mr. ARENS. Well, I will read the full article, but I want you to—

Mr. SPEISER. May we see it?

Mr. ARENS. I will in just a moment.

I want you to tell us, first of all, did you write this article? Jerry Feingold; is that you?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I decline to answer. I am sorry.

Mr. ARENS. You wouldn't want us to read an article that you wouldn't even admit writing; would you?

Mr. FEINGOLD. I would like to know what the article says.

Mr. ARENS. You read it and tell us whether or not you wrote the article.

(The witness examines document.)

Mr. ARENS. All about the Soviet army protecting the freedoms.

Mr. FEINGOLD. It says here, "Celebration To Honor Washington."

Mr. ARENS. See what it says right under the headline. Read that. Is that Jerry Feingold, who wrote the article, you?

Mr. SCHERER. What is the date of that publication?

Mr. ARENS. In 1947.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I am sorry. I will decline to answer on the grounds of self-incrimination.

Mr. ARENS. The essence of that article, is it not, is that George Washington, who was the father of this country and sustained our liberties and freedoms, was about the same type of person as the Red army. Isn't that the essence of it?

Mr. SPEISER. Would you like to read it?

Mr. ARENS. Isn't that the essence of it, Mr. Feingold? You wrote the article.

Mr. VELDE. May I see it, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. FEINGOLD. I am sorry, but I have to invoke the fifth amendment and decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Velde, any questions?

Mr. VELDE. This was written Saturday, February 15, 1947. That was only 2 years after you had become a citizen of the United States, wasn't it?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. VELDE. And it was written for the Daily People's World; is that right?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. SPEISER. I don't believe there is a question before the witness.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Is there a question now?

Mr. VELDE. Yes. This article was written for the Daily People's World by you 2 years after you became a naturalized citizen of this country.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I am sorry, Mr. Congressman; I am declining to answer on the grounds of self-incrimination.

Mr. VELDE. Did you know after you became a naturalized citizen in this country that the Daily People's World was a Communist organ, so described by several agencies of Government?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FEINGOLD. I am sorry I have to decline to answer.

Mr. VELDE. I have no further questions.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions.

Mr. DOYLE. If there are no further questions, the witness is excused.

Mr. ARENS. Dr. Holland Roberts, kindly come forward.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ROBERTS. I do.

# TESTIMONY OF HOLLAND DeWITTE ROBERTS, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, NORMAN LEONARD

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. Holland Roberts, Palo Alto.

Mr. ARENS. And your occupation, please, sir?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. I must decline to answer on the grounds of self-incrimination, invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today, Dr. Roberts, in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. Yes; I did.

Mr. ARENS. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. ROBERTS. Yes; I am.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, would you kindly identify yourself?

Mr. LEONARD. Norman Leonard, 240 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, Calif.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you engaged in your present occupation?

Mr. ROBERTS. I must decline to answer on the grounds of self-incrimination.

Mr. ARENS. In what State are you engaged in your present occupation?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. The State of California.

Mr. ARENS. In what city in the State of California are you engaged in your occupation?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. In the city of San Francisco.

Mr. ARENS. What is the street address of the establishment in which you are engaged in your occupation?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. I respectfully decline to answer on the grounds of self-incrimination.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been engaged in your present occupation?

Mr. ROBERTS. I must also invoke the fifth amendment here.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly feel that if you told this committee your present occupation, you would be supplying information that might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(Representative Harold H. Velde left the hearing room at this point.)

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. Yes, I do.

Mr. ARENS. Dr. Roberts, you are the director of the California Labor School, are you not?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. I am invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Dr. Roberts, are you at this present moment a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROBERTS. I respectfully decline to answer on the grounds of self-incrimination.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact, sir, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that you are right now an agent of the International Communist conspiracy.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. I respectfully decline to answer on the grounds of self-incrimination.

Mr. ARENS. Doctor, do you know the gentleman who preceded you to the witness stand, Mr. Jeremiah Feingold?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Doctor, we have an exhibit which we just displayed to Mr. Feingold (see Feingold exhibit No. 6) in which he is quoting you. First of all, I would like to read you certain excerpts from this exhibit:

Celebration to honor Washington, Soviet Army.

The American Russian Society's joint celebration of the birthdays of George Washington and the Red Army, February 22, at California Hall, is one practical way to help build the peace, according to Dr. Holland Roberts, educational director of the California Labor School.

Dr. Roberts resigned his post as associate professor of education at Stanford University to take over the leadership of the Labor School. An astute observer of world affairs, he is well known for his work in behalf of peace. He has been a frequent speaker at Russian-American Society meetings.

Now we begin a quotation of yourself:

"It is important that Americans of Russian origin or descent recognize the great work done by George Washington in freeing our country from tyranny," Dr. Roberts said, "and the heroic work done by the Soviet Army in guaranteeing freedom for the Soviet peoples. \* \* \*"

Kindly look at this article and tell the Committee on Un-American Activities, while you are under oath, whether or not you are accurately quoted.

(The witness examines document and confers with his counsel.)



Mr. ROBERTS. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly feel if you told this committee truthfully whether or not you are the man who is quoted here as Dr. Roberts, whose photograph appears here, you would be supplying information that could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. I do.

Mr. ARENS. Thank you, sir.

Dr. Roberts, you appeared before the California Un-American Activities Committee back in 1947, did you not?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Arens, I think there is nothing incriminating about that, and I admit that I did.

Mr. ARENS. And did you, in the course of your appearance, deny Communist Party membership?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. On advice of counsel, I believe that answering this question might lead to self-incrimination, and therefore I must respectfully decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. You weren't afraid of the California Committee on Un-American Activities at all then, apparently, were you?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. I would like to read you an excerpt from the 1947 report of the California Un-American Activities Committee. On page 277, Holland DeWitte Roberts—Is that you, sir? Holland DeWitte Roberts. That is you, is it?

Mr. ROBERTS. You are quoting from the——

Mr. ARENS. I am asking you if you are Holland DeWitte Roberts?

Mr. ROBERTS. You are asking me if I am?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir. Are you Holland DeWitte Roberts?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. I have already identified myself in that way.

Mr. ARENS. You are. And you appeared before the committee. You have told us that?

Mr. ROBERTS. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Now I would like to read some of the statements from the third report of the Un-American Activities Committee in California.

Mr. LEONARD. What year is that?

Mr. ARENS. 1947 is the volume I have in my hand.

Mr. SCHERER. The witness was under oath before that committee; was he not, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. ARENS. I am certain he was. I, of course, was not present. I am certain he was.

You were under oath, were you not, when you appeared before the Un-American Activities Committee in California?

Mr. ROBERTS. That is my memory, sir. But it is quite a while ago. I wouldn't want to be absolutely sure of that.

Mr. ARENS (reading):

Holland DeWitte Roberts is the educational director of the California Labor School. His background has been covered elsewhere in this report.

In view of his denial of Communist Party affiliations, the following excerpts from his testimony are interesting.

And so forth.

Did you deny before the California Committee on Un-American Activities that you were a member or had been a member of the Communist Party?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. On advice of counsel, I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you appeared before the California Committee on Un-American Activities and denied Communist Party membership?

Mr. ROBERTS. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Here is a very interesting document, which I want to invite to your attention. It is an article clipped from the Palo Alto Times:

Dr. Holland Roberts Replies to Red Probe Accusation.

That was December 10, 1953, in which Dr. Roberts, according to this article, replies to the Red-probe allegations in very vigorous language.

Kindly look at this article and tell us if, in December 1953 you are correctly quoted in your unsworn statements, which were issued to the world at large, and particularly to the people of this State?

(The witness examines document and confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Did you issue that statement which appears there?

Mr. ROBERTS. On advice of counsel, I decline to answer, sir, on the grounds of self-incrimination.

Mr. ARENS. I want the record to be clear on this point here.

You know that you are now under oath; do you not?

Mr. ROBERTS. Indeed, yes.

Mr. ARENS. You know that if you lie while under oath you can be prosecuted for perjury; do you not?

Mr. ROBERTS. I have understood that very clearly, sir.

Mr. ARENS. You weren't under oath when you issued this statement here; were you?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. I am regretful that I have to decline to identify that document, sir, on the grounds of possible self-incrimination.

(Document marked "Roberts Exhibit No. 1" and filed in the records of the committee.)

Mr. ARENS. Now I would like to exhibit to you still another document. It is an article from New Masses, May 3, 1938, a Communist publication, entitled "The Moscow Trials, a Statement by American Progressives." You recall, Doctor, I am sure, the Moscow trials in which the Soviet Union, under this man called Stalin, who has now been desanctified, was purging, murdering a number of people, so Khrushchev now is telling us.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. And here is what is said in this article, quoting a number of people, including a Holland Roberts. In this article, we see this very interesting comment:

We call upon them to support the efforts of the Soviet Union to free itself from insidious internal dangers, and to rally support for the international fight against fascism—the principal menace to peace and democracy.

This is all about the Moscow trials. Look at that and see if back in 1938, when this all happened, you joined in issuing that statement

to support Comrade Stalin in his murders of millions of people, as subsequently revealed by Comrade Khrushchev.

(The witness examines document and confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. I invoke the fifth amendment, sir.

(Document marked "Roberts Exhibit No. 2," and filed in the record of the committee.)

Mr. ARENS. Have you changed your position with reference to Comrade Stalin since Khrushchev has changed his position in the course of the last several months?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. Sir, I think that perhaps I would take the fifth amendment even more on that question.

Mr. ARENS. Was Khrushchev a big stool pigeon or was he telling the truth when he told all the terrible things that Comrade Stalin did in the blood purge over there that you were talking about here in the New Masses?

Mr. ROBERTS. I regret to be rather monotonous about this, but I must invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. We just want to give you an opportunity to do so—give you an opportunity so we wouldn't interfere with your free speech, and let you speak up all you wanted to.

We have another document we would like to invite to your attention, Make the Campus a Fortress of Democracy—Support Federal Aid to Education!

Dr. Holland Roberts is going to make a speech at a meeting August 24, (1945) sponsored by the American Youth for Democracy.

Kindly look at this document and see if you won't be good enough to tell us whether or not you are the Dr. Holland Roberts, former professor of education, Stanford University, education director, California Labor School, who made this oration?

(The witness examines document and confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. I invoke the fifth amendment, sir, in this case.

(Document marked "Roberts Exhibit No. 3," and filed in the records of the committee.)

Mr. ARENS. Have you joined in any statements in the last few weeks commending the purges that have been going on in Hungary by the Government of the Soviet Union?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. I invoke the fifth amendment on that question, too, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a man by the name of Charles Blodgett?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Charles David Blodgett raised his hand and laid his liberty on the line before this committee and swore that he knew you as a member of the Communist Party. Was Blodgett lying or was he telling the truth?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. I invoke the fifth amendment, sir, on that.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact, sir, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that you are one of the nerve centers in this area for the transmission and dissemination of foreign Communist political propaganda. If it isn't so, deny it while you are under oath.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)



Mr. ROBERTS. I must, sir, invoke the fifth amendment in answer to that question.

Mr. ARENS. You understand you are under no compulsion to invoke the fifth amendment unless you honestly feel that your liberty is at stake, unless you honestly feel that if you give us a truthful answer, you would be supplying information that could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. I understand, Mr. Arens, that one invokes [sic] one's liberty to invoke the fifth amendment when there is a possibility that one may be incriminating himself.

(Representative Harold H. Velde returned to the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. ARENS. By incriminating yourself, you mean give information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding; do you not?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHERER. I think the witness is properly invoking the fifth amendment, counsel.

Mr. LEONARD. I am sorry, I didn't hear.

Mr. SCHERER. I think the witness is properly invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. LEONARD. Thank you, sir. I think he is, too.

Mr. SCHERER. The answer is yes, obviously.

Mr. ARENS. I am not in any sense challenging your right to invoke the fifth amendment. I want the record to be clear as to the basis on which you do it.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Arens and Mr. Chairman, I understand I am standing on a constitutional right in invoking the fifth amendment. This is my privilege and—

Mr. ARENS. If you honestly apprehend that to give information in response to the question, you would be giving information that could be used against you in a criminal proceeding, we understand you all right.

Mr. DOYLE. I wish to say, in answer to your direct question to me, that we respect, and very heartily, that constitutional use when you do it in good faith.

Mr. ARENS. But we don't want it abused, and we don't want it used capriciously and facetiously.

Doctor, are you a member of the American Russian Institute?

Mr. ROBERTS. Again I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I have here a photostatic copy of a flyer published by the American Russian Institute, welcoming the Dean of Canterbury, the Red Dean of Canterbury. It states that this Russian American Institute here in San Francisco, according to this document, has exhibits, motion pictures, and the like, all to promote understanding with Soviet Russia. It says also:

THE AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE LIBRARY

Largest and most comprehensive collection in the West of source material—and I emphasize the next two words—  
and current publications about Russia—in both English and Russian.

And there are exhibited pictures of a number of the publications which this organization, the American Russian Institute, boasts it has:

Land of the Soviets, Soviet America, and others of that kind.

This welcoming committee, according to this publication, is under the sponsorship of a number of persons, including a Dr. Holland D. Roberts.

Kindly look at this exhibit, if you please, Doctor, and tell the committee whether or not you are he, and tell us a little about some of these publications that the Soviet Russian Institute imports to uplift the minds of the people of California respecting Soviet Russia?

Mr. ROBERTS. If I am right, Mr. Arens, I just might make an inquiry on your question.

You have referred to the organization in three different ways: Soviet American Russian Institute, Russian American Institute, and American Russian Institute.

Mr. ARENS. We want the one you belonged to. What is the name of it?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Perhaps this would help you: We have the exhibit Peace and Life are Indivisible, an introduction by Holland Roberts president of the American Russian Institute. So have all references been to the institution of which you are president, the American Russian Institute, which corresponds with the institution or organization alluded to in the exhibit which you have in your hands.

While you are under oath, tell this committee about all these publications that you boast about in your publication there which are designed for peace and uplift and understanding of Soviet Russia. Tell us about that, and you can help your Government.

Mr. LEONARD. Excuse me, Mr. Arens. In view of the colloquy and the two exhibits before the witness, I wonder if the question could be restated.

Mr. ARENS. I will be glad to restate it, counsel. I appreciate your interest in clarifying the issue.

Doctor, you have in your hand before you a couple of exhibits of this American Russian Institute, do you not?

(The witness examines documents.)

Mr. ROBERTS. I invoke the fifth amendment.

(Documents marked "Roberts Exhibit No. 4," and filed in the records of the committee.)

Mr. ARENS. You are president of that organization, are you not?

Mr. ROBERTS. The same answer, sir.

Mr. ARENS. What good did all this clarification of counsel's do? You weren't going to answer the question in the first place, were you?

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this:

Is that in San Francisco, that American Russian Institute?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir. That is the agency that, by its own publications, has a vast array of current literature for the uplift of humanity and understanding of the criminal conspiracy centered in Moscow.

Mr. ARENS. Doctor, I would like to have you tell us a little about your own educational attainment. You carry the title "Doctor." Is that a Ph. D.?

Mr. ROBERTS. I hold two degrees in the University of Chicago.

Mr. ARENS. When did you obtain those?

Mr. ROBERTS. Well, it is a long time ago. I think in 1919 and 1925, I believe.

Mr. ARENS. Doctor, what were the degrees—the subjects?

Mr. ROBERTS. Well, I prepared myself to be a teacher and I took a degree in liberal arts and a degree in education.

Mr. ARENS. Is your Ph. D. degree in education?

Mr. ROBERTS. No. There are no Ph. D. degrees in education.

Mr. ARENS. What was your degree? What did you do to obtain your doctorate?

Mr. ROBERTS. It is a Ph. B. degree.

Mr. ARENS. Ph. B.?

Mr. ROBERTS. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. I do not want too involved an explanation. I wanted to be sure we had a word about your educational background.

After you completed your formal education and received your degree, tell us something of your career. What was your first assignment? Do you recall?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. You mean my teaching assignment?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROBERTS. At the junior high school in Quincy, Ill.

Mr. ARENS. Where else did you teach?

Mr. ROBERTS. I was principal of the high school at Arlington Heights, Ill., and then a member of the staff at the Chicago Normal College in Chicago.

And, let's see, Indiana University, I was on the staff there.

Mr. ARENS. You taught there?

Mr. ROBERTS. Yes. And at Teachers College at Columbia, I was at the Lincoln School there. And the principal of the high school at Harrison, N. Y.

And then from there I came west.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come west? About the year.

Mr. ROBERTS. In 1934.

Mr. ARENS. Just pick up your career and tell us the various institutions with which you have been connected.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. Well, I have left out some, Mr. Arens, because they were summer-school jobs, or extension work, or something of that sort.

Mr. ARENS. We will fill in a few of them in a little while. I would like to have the principal ones.

Mr. ROBERTS. I have given you, I think, the principal ones.

Mr. ARENS. You are out west in 1934. Then where did you start?

Mr. ROBERTS. I taught at Stanford for 10 years—1934 to 1944.

Mr. ARENS. What did you teach at Stanford?

Mr. ROBERTS. I was preparing teachers in high schools and colleges, school of education.

Mr. ARENS. You were teaching teachers?

Mr. ROBERTS. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. And over what period of time?

Mr. ROBERTS. That was 1934 to 1944.

Mr. ARENS. Then where did you resume or take up your profession?



Mr. ROBERTS. I must decline to answer on the grounds of self-incrimination, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Have you engaged in any activity, professional activity, since your disassociation from Stanford, concerning which you could tell us without giving information that could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. Well, I am sure there is a great deal. I have written a good many—

Mr. ARENS. I mean about your teaching activities.

Mr. ROBERTS. Yes.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. If you will be specific, I would be very happy to tell you. There is no question but what I have engaged in a number of things.

Mr. ARENS. Principal employments.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. I am afraid I will have to ask you to be specific, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Let's back up a little bit then.

I have a document concerning the Tom Mooney Labor School (1942). According to this, a Prof. Holland Roberts, of Stanford University, was one of the lecturers at this Tom Mooney Labor School.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Did you contribute your talents to the Tom Mooney Labor School back in 1942?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. I invoke the fifth amendment, sir.

(Document marked "Roberts Exhibit No. 5," and filed in the records of the committee.)

Mr. ARENS. We have a booklet here of the California Labor School for 1946.

When was it that you were disassociated from Stanford?

Mr. SCHERER. 1944.

Mr. ARENS. Was it in 1944 that you were disassociated from Stanford?

Mr. ROBERTS. I left Stanford in 1944.

Mr. ARENS. Was that leaving voluntary or involuntary?

Mr. ROBERTS. Well, sir, it was a combination.

Mr. ARENS. You might tell us a word about it.

Mr. ROBERTS. Well, I had reached a period in my life where I thought it better to make the best use of my energies.

Mr. ARENS. Did you devote your energies to the California Labor School?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. I am regretful that I have to invoke—

Mr. ARENS. I have here a booklet of the California Labor School, and in this booklet for the fall term of 1946, the educational director is listed as Holland Roberts. Is that what you meant when you were going to put your time to a little bit better use, that you assumed the educational directorship of this California Labor School?

Take a look at that booklet—I did not mean to throw it, but I have to get over this obstacle on the desk—and see if you can't help the Committee on Un-American Activities by telling us whether or not

that was the activity concerning which you were then devoting your talents.

(The witness examines document and confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Could you look at that document there, the first couple of pages, where the name of Holland Roberts appears as educational director and help out the committee here?

Mr. ROBERTS. The fifth amendment, sir.

(Document marked "Roberts Exhibit No. 6," and filed in the records of the committee.)

Mr. ARENS. By the way, while you were there at that California Labor School in this status of educational director, you got about a couple of hundred thousand dollars out of the Federal Government through the GI bill of rights, didn't you?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. Fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I have another exhibit with reference to your activities, at the California Labor School in 1948. I see a photograph where Holland Roberts greets John Howard Lawson, the distinguished playwright and screen writer, who was the feature speaker at the school's cultural conference in the summer of 1947.

On page 7 again, the educational director is listed as Holland Roberts.

Look at this smiling photograph, if you please, sir, and tell us whether or not it is you greeting John Howard Lawson, as revealed in the exhibit which I have just displayed to you.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. Fifth amendment, sir.

(Document marked "Roberts Exhibit No. 7" and filed in the records of the committee.)

Mr. ARENS. I have still another exhibit I would like to invite to your attention, Doctor. It is an exhibit from the Communist Daily People's World, May 27, 1955:

A teacher affects eternity. He can never tell where his influence stops.

That is the leading italicized heading, "the teacher can never tell where his influence stops."

Then we see a large photograph of yourself, Holland Roberts—Teacher of Teachers, and the following appears:

Holland Roberts, director of the California Labor School, estimates (conservatively, he says) that in 35 years of teaching he has taught some 15,000 pupils. That is not counting what he calls "short-term teaching relationships" with some 3,000 to 5,000 other students in weekend institutes and similar programs of brief duration.

Kindly look at this article, if you please, sir, and tell us whether or not, over the course of these many years while you have been teaching the teachers in the amount of several thousand, you have in turn been part and parcel of an international, godless, atheistic conspiracy controlled from Moscow. And if it isn't so, deny it now while you are under oath before the Committee on Un-American Activities.

(The witness examines the document and confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. Fifth amendment, sir.

(Document marked "Roberts Exhibit No. 8" and filed in the records of the committee.)

Mr. ARENS. Doctor, back in 1950, did you take a trip to England to visit some relatives?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. An innocent little trip just to visit some relatives over in England? Did you do that?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Can't you tell us whether or not back in 1950 you took a trip to England to visit some relatives?

Mr. ROBERTS. Fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. ARENS. That is strange.

I have here a photostatic copy of a passport application to the Passport Office of the Department of State, signed by Holland D. Roberts. Listed as one of the countries to be visited is England. And the purpose of the trip is just to travel, to visit relatives.

Please look at this passport application, Doctor, while you are under oath, and tell this committee whether or not you signed that passport application, and whether or not that is your signature on the passport to visit some relatives in England in 1950?

(The witness examines document and confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, while he is looking at that, I respectfully suggest that if, as, and when this witness signs a voucher for his per diem, that that part of the voucher bearing his signature be incorporated in the body of the record so that there may be a comparison of signatures on the passport application and the voucher.

Mr. DOYLE. It is so ordered.



## ROBERTS EXHIBIT No. 9

Form 1-2-1  
(3-4-1)

1. The fee for a passport is \$1.00, payable in advance, and \$1.00 for issuance of passport.

The fee is \$1.00. It is necessary to pay only other fee to the passport in connection with the first or subsequent application for a passport. All necessary information and guidance will be given by the clerk of the passport office before the application is accepted. The application must be accompanied by a photograph.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

STATE OF CaliforniaCOUNTY OF San FranciscoDEPARTMENT OF STATE  
PASSPORT APPLICATION

FORM FOR NATIVE CITIZEN

(March 1941)

SAN FRANCISCO SERIES

22675

NOV 6 - 1950

Issued by San Francisco Agency upon

Information supplied by

May Roberts NOV 6 - 1950

CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES

I, Holland Soquette Roberts, do hereby apply to the Department of State, at Washington, for a passport. I solemnly swear that I was born at Springfield Nebraska on or about May 16, 1895.

I am now residing in the United States, my permanent residence being at 3891 Divisadero Ave in Palo Alto State of California.

I have resided outside the United States as follows:

France and Germany Oct. 1918 July 1919 Russia  
(Name of country) (Date of entry) (Date of departure)

My father, William I Roberts, was born at Omaha, Nebraska on or about 1862 and is now residing at Decatur.

My father emigrated to the United States on or about 1862 and was naturalized as a citizen of the United States before the 1862 Court of Decatur.

My mother, Carolyn Miller Roberts, was born at St. Louis, Missouri on or about 1869 and is now residing at Decatur.

My mother emigrated to the United States on or about 1869 and was naturalized as a citizen of the United States before the 1869 Court of Decatur.

My mother acquired citizenship in the United States on or about 1869 and was naturalized as a citizen of the United States before the 1869 Court of Decatur.

## DESCRIPTION OF APPLICANT

Height 6 feet, 0 inches.Hair BrownEyes greyDistinguishing marks or features scar onthird finger of left handPlace of birth Springfield, NebraskaDate of birth May 16, 1895Occupation Teacher

## MAILING ADDRESS

(Print complete address plainly)

PASSPORT OFFICE

NOV 14 1950

PASSPORT DIVISION

62777

My last American passport was obtained at Washington D.C. on June 6, 1938 and is submitted herewith for cancellation.

10

NOV 14 1950

62777

I was <sup>(power-resident)</sup> Dec 23, 1917 to Florida - Surface  
 who was born at Decatur, Ga on May 10, 1896 who (is) an American citizen,  
 and who is now residing at 3841 1st Avenue, S. Polo, Calif  
 Our marriage (has not been terminated)  
(was terminated by death) (divorce) on \_\_\_\_\_ (Date of death or divorce)

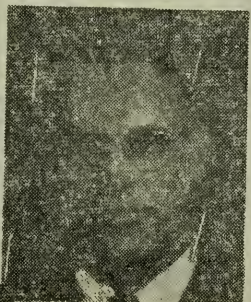
**A WOMAN APPLICANT WHO IS OR HAS BEEN MARRIED MUST FILL IN THIS PORTION**

My maiden name was \_\_\_\_\_ and  
 I (was not previously married)  
(was previously married to) \_\_\_\_\_  
 on \_\_\_\_\_, at \_\_\_\_\_, who was born  
 at \_\_\_\_\_, and the marriage was terminated by (death) on \_\_\_\_\_  
(divorce) (Date)  
(If married more than twice, set forth facts in a supplemental statement.)  
 My (husband) (former husband) emigrated to the United States on \_\_\_\_\_  
 and (his father) (Name of father) was naturalized as a citizen of the United States before the  
 Court of \_\_\_\_\_ at \_\_\_\_\_ (City and State)  
 on \_\_\_\_\_ as shown by the Certificate of Naturalization (submitted herewith)  
(Month, day, and year) (originally submitted)

**MY TRAVEL PLANS ARE AS FOLLOWS:**

Port of departure New York  
 Approximate date of departure Nov. 11, 1950  
 Proposed length of stay abroad 1 month  
 Means of transportation air  
 Countries to be visited England

Purpose of trip travel, visit  
relatives



I solemnly swear that the statements on both sides of this application are true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.

I (have not) been naturalized as a citizen of a foreign state; have not taken an oath of allegiance to a foreign state; accepted or performed the duties of any office, post or employment under the government of a foreign state, or political subdivision thereof; voted in a political election in a foreign state or participated in an election or referendum to determine the sovereignty over foreign territory; made a formal renunciation of nationality before a diplomatic or consular officer of the United States in a foreign state; been convicted by court martial of deserting the military or naval service of the United States in time of war; been convicted by court martial, or by a court of competent jurisdiction, of committing any act of treason against, or of attempting by force to overthrow, or of bearing arms against the United States.

**OATH OF ALLEGIANCE**

Further, I do solemnly swear that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation, or purpose of evasion; So help me God.

NOV 6 - 1950

Holland D. Roberts  
 (Signature of applicant)

Chief of the U. S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

**AFFIDAVIT OF IDENTIFYING WITNESS**

I, the undersigned, solemnly swear that I am a citizen of the United States; that I reside at the address written below my signature hereto affixed; that I know the applicant who executed the affidavit hereinbefore set forth to be a citizen of the United States; that the statements made in the applicant's affidavit are true to the best of my knowledge and belief; further, I solemnly swear that I have known the applicant personally for 10 years.

If without true knowledge or suspicion, give neither if known and date or approximate date of knowledge.

On 11/4/50 Date of issuance June 6, 1939

Mr. Rae Beach  
 (Signature of witness)

52A - 41st Avenue, S.  
 (Residence of witness)

NOV 6 - 1950

Subscribed and sworn to before me this \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_

Chief of the U. S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

For sale by the Department of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20540-5



(The witness confers with his counsel.)



Mr. ROBERTS. The fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Doctor, you didn't go to England at all, did you? You went to the Soviet Union. Isn't that true?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. Fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Let us look at his pamphlet, *We Pledge Peace, a Friendship Book*, containing an article entitled "We Saw Ourselves—19 Americans in the U. S. S. R." and photographs of the chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, Nikolai Tikhonov, left, with Prof. Hol-land Roberts, chairman of the American delegation.

Did the Russians forge a photograph of you while in Moscow? Or is that true?

(The witness examines document and confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. Fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Roberts Exhibit No. 11" and filed in the records of the committee.)

Mr. SCHERER. What was the date of his application for passport?

Mr. ARENS. 1950. I don't have it at my fingertips at this instant.

Mr. SCHERER. 1950.

Mr. ARENS. Yes; November 1950, the passport was issued.

Mr. SCHERER. Is that application sworn to?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir. And the passport application also contains an affidavit not only with reference to the truth of the statements, but also that the applicant will support and defend the Constitution of the United States, and so forth.

Mr. SCHERER. That was in 1950. What is the statute of limita-tions—I should know—for perjury? The Federal statute?

Mr. ARENS. I am fearful it has run out in this particular instance.

Mr. SCHERER. He is lucky.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Arens, may I interpolate here?

I happen to have in front of me the preceding exhibit, "We Pledge Peace, A Friendship Book," which was presented to the witness. On page 37 thereof, under a caption "Let Us Sit Together, In Peace, Hol-land Roberts, educator, author, Palo Alto, Calif.," I read:

I know the people of the Soviet Union are good neighbors for I have lived and worked with them. In the summer of 1934, with more than a hundred other Americans, I was a student at the Anglo-American Institute in Moscow.

Then in the next paragraph, it says:

Again in 1950 I traveled in the U. S. S. R.

That appears to be an article by a distinguished educator.

I will hand this back to you.

Now, while I am interrupting you just a minute, I turn to the Guide for Subversive Organizations and Publications printed by this committee, May 14, 1951, and page 24 thereof I read:

AMERICAN-RUSSIAN INSTITUTE FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION

1. A direct agent of the Soviet Union, engaged in traitorous activities under the orders of Stalin's consular service in the United States \* \* \* Founded in 1926 \* \* \* the semiofficial status of the American-Russian Institute is estab-lished. \* \* \* (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report 1948, pp. 169 and 327.)

Then I read from the same page in the same guide :

AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA (LOS ANGELES)

1. Cited as Communist (Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to loyalty Review Board, released April 27, 1949).

And then I read :

AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE OF SAN FRANCISCO

1. Cited as a Communist organization (Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released September 21, 1948).

Mr. VELDE. Dr. Roberts, do you still have your passport, or did you turn it back to the State Department?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. I still have it, sir. However, it has expired.

Mr. VELDE. It has what?

Mr. ROBERTS. It has expired.

Mr. VELDE. Oh, yes; I realize it has expired. But is it endorsed by the customs officials of Soviet Russia.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. I can't remember, sir, but I think so.

Mr. VELDE. Where did you get your visa to get into Soviet Russia?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. I will invoke the fifth amendment in answering that, Mr. Velde.

Mr. VELDE. Did you have a visa?

Mr. ROBERTS. What's that?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. VELDE. Did you have a visa?

Mr. ROBERTS. I will invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. VELDE. At what point did you enter Russia?

Mr. ROBERTS. Fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. ARENS. What causes you to feel that your passport was endorsed by the Soviets? You just told the distinguished Congressman when interrogating you about your passport that you thought it was endorsed by the Russians. What caused you to think that?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. Fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question. He has volunteered the statement.

Mr. DOYLE. I think it is appropriate to direct you to answer that question, Doctor.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. I am regretful I must invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Maybe you can help me on this, Doctor: Here you tell the State Department in your passport application that you were going to go to England, an innocent trip for about a month, to visit some relatives. That is here in 1950. And here in 1950, the next month or so, you tell the American people a little bit different story.

Here are two articles I am going to display to you, by Dr. Holland

Roberts: "I Met These Soviet People" and "People Who Build for Peace."

A prominent educator describes his recent trip to the Soviet Union as part of a U. S. peace delegation.

The article is the text of a speech delivered to a New York rally to hear the delegates who attended the Warsaw Peace Congress in 1950.

And also an ad in the Daily People's World, "A Message From the Soviet People" (January 25, 1951).

Now, tell the Committee on Un-American Activities, did you lie to the State Department or did you lie to the American people?

Mr. ROBERTS. Fifth amendment, sir.

(Three documents marked "Roberts Exhibits No. 12," and filed in the records of the committee.)

Mr. ARENS. I invite your attention to a letterhead, Doctor. The first is a letterhead of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, which sets forth the board of directors, including a Dr. Holland Roberts.

Look at that exhibit, if you please, sir, and tell this committee whether or not you are a member of the board of directors of that organization?

Mr. ROBERTS. Fifth amendment, sir.

(Document marked "Roberts Exhibit No. 13," and filed in the records of the committee.)

Mr. ARENS. I have another exhibit, Doctor. This is from the Communist Daily People's World, quoting a leading educator, Dr. Holland Roberts, praising this Communist paper:

A leading educator, an educator praises our paper.

Kindly look at that document and tell us whether or not that accurately quotes you?

(The witness examines document and confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. Fifth amendment on that material.

(Document marked "Roberts Exhibit No. 14," and filed in the records of the committee.)

Mr. ARENS. Here is something I would like to show to you. It is attributed to you. See if you can help us.

Holland Roberts, California Labor School, is quoted as follows:

In a nation drugged with lies and ruled by thieves, every man who loves his country must speak out for the truth. That is where the greatness of the Daily Worker lies.

In the smog and miasma through which our great people are groping their way toward peace and the beauty and freedom of the atomic era, we see a burning point of light—

and so forth.

Do you think that this great Nation under whose flag you receive protection as a citizen is a Nation now drugged with lies and ruled by thieves?

Look at that, if you please, and tell us whether or not you are accurately quoted.

Mr. SCHERER. The statement comes from you with ill grace, one who obtained a passport by fraud and perjury.

Mr. LEONARD. I suggest the form of the question comes with ill grace from counsel to a legislative committee. I respectfully suggest the form of the question comes with ill grace from counsel—



Mr. ARENS. I suggest that counsel be admonished. His sole and exclusive prerogative, as the chairman has said three times, is to advise his witness with respect to his constitutional rights.

Mr. DOYLE. What year is the exhibit dated, please?

Mr. ARENS. This is in 1954.

Mr. SCHERER. Was there an answer?

Mr. ARENS. Did you invoke the fifth amendment?

Mr. VELDE. I don't believe so.

Mr. ROBERTS. I do invoke the fifth amendment.

#### ROBERTS EXHIBIT No. 15

[The Worker, Sunday, February 7, 1954]

#### GREETINGS ON OUR BIRTHDAY

The following are additional greetings sent to The Worker on its 30th anniversary. They arrived too late for inclusion in our Anniversary issue January 31.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### *Holland Roberts, California Labor School*

In a nation drugged with lies and ruled by thieves, every man who loves his country must speak out for the truth. That is where the greatness of the Daily Worker lies.

In the smog and miasma through which our great people are groping their way toward peace and the beauty and freedom of the atomic era, we see a burning point of light.

\* \* \* \* \*

Mr. ARENS. I invite your attention to a document called A Call to a National Conference on American Policy on China and the Far East. It is to be held in the Hotel Roosevelt, in New York City, in January of 1948. Listed among the leading figures of this conference is Holland Roberts, director of the California Labor School.

Kindly look at this document and tell the people of this community, while you are under oath, whether or not you were one of the leading lights of that call to have a conference about things going on in the Far East.

(The witness examines document and confers with his consul.)

Mr. ROBERTS. Fifth amendment on that one, sir.

(Document marked "Roberts Exhibit No. 16" and filed in the records of the committee.)

Mr. ARENS. When we were in Los Angeles just a few days ago, we had testimony about some of the individuals I am going to ask you about.

This exhibit is entitled, "Don't Miss Truth About Korea." In other words, the people who are putting out this exhibit are going to tell the world now the truth about Korea. They have been hearing the falsehoods.

Hear Mr. Peter Hyun (H-y-u-n) former editor of Korean Independent—who was identified as a Communist before us in Los Angeles—

Wm. Kerner, West Coast Director of Committee for Democratic Far Eastern Policy; Holland Roberts, Director, California Labor School.

All under the auspices of the California Labor School, Committee for Democratic Far Eastern Policy, San Francisco Independent Progressive Party.

Tell this Committee on Un-American Activities truthfully whether you were the one who was going to tell everybody the truth about Korea after you truthfully reported what you saw in Soviet Russia. (The witness examines document and confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. The fifth on that one, too.

(Document marked "Roberts Exhibit No. 17" and filed in the records of the committee.)

Mr. ARENS. I exhibit to you still another document about an Asian liberation movement on world peace.

Did you hear the testimony earlier this afternoon by Mr. Caldwell about the forces of communism in Asia?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. Yes, of course.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us, as you look at this document issued by the California Labor School, whether or not the Asian liberation movement in world peace that you were promoting is the liberation from freedom into the throes of international communism in Asia.

(The witness examines document and confers with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHERER. How many more exhibits have you, counsel?

Mr. ARENS. A couple.

Mr. DOYLE. What year was that?

Mr. ARENS. I think 1950.

(The witness examines document and confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Can you help us on that Doctor?

Mr. ROBERTS. Fifth amendment on that one.

(Document marked "Roberts Exhibit No. 18" and filed in the records of the committee.)

Mr. ARENS. Doctor, I have several exhibits, but I will ask you about two more. I am trying to show one from each of several facets of your interesting life:

280 Nat'l. Leaders Ask Truman Amnesty Jailed Communists.

175 Notables in Open Letter to President Urge Amnesty for Smith Act Victims.

Among the notables who are listed here requesting amnesty for the Communist traitors who were convicted by a jury in the United States is Holland Roberts.

Please look at these and tell us whether or not you were one of those who was urging clemency and amnesty for these traitors.

(The witness examines document and confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. The fifth amendment on this one.

(Documents marked "Roberts Exhibit No. 19" and filed in the records of the committee.)

Mr. ARENS. Doctor, do you have anything you would like to tell the Committee on Un-American Activities about the dissemination in this area by you and your associates of this Communist political propaganda, the sacks of which we have displayed here in the course of the last several hours?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Arens and Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, I, of course, will be very happy to answer questions which do not, in my opinion and in the opinion of my counsel, lead to self-incrimination.

Mr. ARENS. Then just answer this question:

I put it to you as a fact that you are now a nerve center for the dissemination of foreign Communist propaganda in California.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. Well, I have certain rights under the first and fifth amendments to the Constitution, which I hereby invoke in declining to answer the question, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Were you invoking the fifth amendment?

Mr. ROBERTS. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. I have just one other question.

Mr. ROBERTS. I was also invoking the first amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a member of a conspiracy designed to destroy the Constitution of the United States?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROBERTS. I invoke the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I have another question to clear the record, so that the record is straight.

Doctor, after your release from your oath before the committee and the possible pains and penalties of perjury, do you expect, as you did before, to step outside and tell the world, "Of course I'm not a Communist. Of course I'm not part of the Communist conspiracy but I wasn't going to tell that witch-hunting, Fascist, Red-baiting House Un-American Activities Committee anything?"

Is that what you are going to do, Doctor?

Mr. ROBERTS. I am going to take the fifth amendment, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. I was sure you would.

I respectfully suggest Mr. Chairman that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. DOYLE. May I take one minute to incorporate in the record of the hearings at this point, in view of the fact that the distinguished educator has been identified in connection with the California Labor School, the following:

I again refer to the Guide for Subversive Organizations and Publications, being House Document 137 of the 82d Congress, published May 14, 1951, at page 31 thereof:

*California Labor School*

1. Cited as a subversive and Communist organization at 216 Market Street. San Francisco, Calif. (Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.)

2. An "expanded Communist Party institution for the purpose of disseminating Communist propaganda." Opened in San Francisco in the summer of 1944 to replace the Tom Mooney Labor School. Denounced as Communist controlled by the California State Federation of Labor. (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1947, pp. 79, 80, and 369.)

Any questions, Mr. Velde?

Mr. VELDE. No questions.

Mr. DOYLE. Any questions, Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. I think we should say, as we close the hearings today, that we compliment the counsel who have appeared with the witnesses today, on their highly ethical representation of the witnesses and their compliance with the rules of this committee, and furthermore, the competent manner in which they have represented the witnesses.

Mr. LEONARD. Thank you very much, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. I am glad you mentioned that, because I was certainly going to do it, as well as everyone else in the room.

Then to those, not heard, who have been subpoenaed to appear today, we regret we have been unable to call you. Your subpoenas will be continued until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock in this room.



Mr. LEONARD. Is Dr. Roberts excused, Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes.

(Whereupon, at 5:35 p. m., Monday, December 10, the subcommittee was recessed, to be reconvened at 10 a. m., Tuesday, December 11, 1956. Committee members present: Representatives Doyle, Velde, and Scherer.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1956<sup>1</sup>

(The subcommittee was reconvened at the expiration of the recess, at 2:35 p. m. and resumed its hearings on Investigation of Communist Propaganda in the United States. Committee members present: Representatives Doyle and Scherer.)

Mr. ARENS. Wilhelmina Loughrey.

Would you kindly come forward. The chairman will be right in. Kindly remain standing while the chairman administers an oath to you.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. LOUGHREY. I do.

Mr. DOYLE. May the record show that Congressman Scherer of Ohio and Congressman Doyle are both present, and, therefore, a quorum of the subcommittee.

May the record show, too, that the meeting is called at 2:35 p. m.

The reason for the subcommittee chairman's absence or tardiness for 35 minutes was occasioned by reason of the fact that I was in a meeting of certain security officers and personnel of the bay area.

Proceed, Mr. Arens.

#### TESTIMONY OF WILHELMINA LOUGHREY, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, BERTRAM EDISES

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mrs. LOUGHREY. My name is Wilhelmina Loughrey. I live in Lorenzo. I am unemployed.

Mr. ARENS. Are you appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mrs. LOUGHREY. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Are you represented by counsel?

Mrs. LOUGHREY. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, will you kindly identify yourself?

Mr. EDISES. Bertram Edises, 1440 Broadway, Oakland, Calif.

Mr. ARENS. Mrs. Loughrey, are you connected with the 20th Century Bookstore?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. LOUGHREY. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you a photostatic copy of the Communist Daily People's World, in which an article appears identifying Wil-

<sup>1</sup>(Testimony of the following witnesses heard in the morning session of December 11, 1956, Grace Partridge, Louis Goldblatt, Clair Jensen, will be printed under the title of Communist Political Subversion; witness heard in the late afternoon session on that date will also be printed under the title of Communist Political Subversion.)

helmina Loughrey as manager of the 20th Century Book Store in Berkeley, and of a then brandnew Oakland branch store, a photograph of Mrs. Loughrey also appearing. That is under date of March 1942.

(Document marked "Loughrey Exhibit No. 1," retained in committee files.)

Kindly look at this document and tell us whether or not it is a true representation of the facts.

(The witness examines document and confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. LOUGHREY. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you a photostatic copy of the Daily People's World of Friday, June 25, 1954, in which your picture appears, and a drawing, in which you are quoted with reference to the Bancroft Avenue Bookshop, as a director or operator of that shop.

(Document marked "Loughrey Exhibit No. 2," retained in committee files.)

Kindly look at this document and tell us whether or not you would confirm the authenticity of those statements.

(The witness examines document and confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. LOUGHREY. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Fred H. Williams?

Mr. DOYLE. Merely to have the record straight, did I understand your answer was that you cannot answer?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. LOUGHREY. My answer was that I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. DOYLE. I thought you said you cannot answer.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know Fred H. Williams?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. LOUGHREY. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. You testified before the Un-American Activities Committee of California (Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California) back in 1946, in which you stated that you were a Communist, and you identified Fred H. Williams as a Communist.

Isn't that true?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. LOUGHREY. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. I should like to read you extracts of your testimony at that time:

Question: Mrs. Loughrey, are you a member of the Communist Party?

Answer: Yes, I am,

Question: And you became affiliated about when?

Answer: Oh, around 5 or 6 years ago.

I now ask you were those questions posed to you, and were those answers given by you to the questions when you appeared before the California Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mrs. LOUGHREY. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. In the course of that testimony you likewise identified Fred H. Williams as a person known by you to be a Communist, did you not?

Mrs. LOUGHREY. Same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. DOYLE. I order and direct you, Madam Witness, to answer that last question.

Mr. EDISES. Would you mind reading that question?

Mr. ARENS. I said you identified Fred H. Williams in that testimony, before the California committee, did you not?

And she invoked the fifth amendment.

Mrs. LOUGHREY. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the record reflect an order and direction that the witness answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. You are directed and ordered, Madam Witness, to answer that last question.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. LOUGHREY. I stand on my position.

Mr. ARENS. I want to invite your attention to a photostatic copy of the Bulletin of the Workers School in Oakland, Calif., summer session, 1942, in which your name appears as the teacher, professor of public speaking and parliamentary law.

(Document marked "Loughrey Exhibit No. 3" retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Kindly look at that document and tell us whether or not that is a true and correct representation of the facts.

(The witness examines document and confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. LOUGHREY. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever registered or, to your knowledge, has the 20th Century Book Store ever registered under the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. LOUGHREY. I decline to answer on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you four publications (marked "Fishman Exhibit No. 3") which, according to this record of yesterday, were purchased by an investigator of this committee at the 20th Century Book Store:

Soviet Union, People's Democracy; Youth Forum of Political Organization of Society; People's China; and China Reconstructs.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly tell us whether or not those documents are, to your certain knowledge, documents which were sold by the 20th Century Book Store.

(The witness examines documents and confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. LOUGHREY. I take the same position on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Do those documents appearing before you bear any stamp or mark indicating that they are Communist publications, pursuant to the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. LOUGHREY. Same position.



Mr. ARENS. Are you now a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mrs. LOUGHREY. I decline to answer on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. DOYLE. Any questions, Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. I have no questions.

Mr. DOYLE. The witness is excused.

Mr. ARENS. Lawrence Lowe, kindly come forward.

Mr. DOYLE. Please raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LOWE. Yes; I do.

### TESTIMONY OF LAWRENCE LOWE, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL ROBERT TREUHAF

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. LOWE. Lawrence Lowe, 1002 Wood Street, Oakland.

Mr. ARENS. Are you appearing today, Mr. Lowe, in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. LOWE. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. LOWE. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, will you kindly identify yourself.

Mr. TREUHAF. Robert Treuhaf, 1440 Broadway, Oakland.

Mr. ARENS. What is your occupation, Mr. Lowe?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. LOWE. I decline to answer this question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly feel that if you told this committee your occupation you would be supplying information that could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. LOWE. I am claiming the fifth amendment in good faith.

Mr. ARENS. Where is your business establishment?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. LOWE. I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. You operate the World Theater, have a controlling interest in the World Theater here in San Francisco, do you not?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. LOWE. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact, sir, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact that you do operate the World Theater in San Francisco.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. LOWE. I stand on the same position.

Mr. ARENS. I want to display to you now a leaflet of the World Theater advertising a motion picture to be displayed there: The New China, an Artkino release in color, showing a photograph of Chou, and the inward pictures showing, likewise, a photograph in color of the Communist dictator of Red China.

(Document marked "Lowe Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Kindly look at this document and tell us whether or not, to your certain knowledge, that document represents truthful accounts, or presents the fact with reference to the presentation of this Chinese Communist film.

(The witness examines document and confers with his counsel.)

Mr. LOWE. The same answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a member of the Communist conspiracy?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. LOWE. Same answer; same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that concludes the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. DOYLE. Questions, Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. No.

Mr. DOYLE. The witness is excused.

(The subcommittee at this point concluded its hearings on Investigation of Communist Propaganda in the United States, and resumed its hearings on Communist Political Subversion. Testimony of the remaining witnesses heard at the afternoon session on December 11, 1956, Aubrey Grossman, William Heikkila, Cleophas Brown, and Victor Arnautoff, will be printed under the title of Communist Political Subversion.)





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